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THE MAKING OF IRELAND AND ITS UNDOING

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BY
ALICE STOPFORD GREEN

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

MANY reasons have prevented the writing of Irish history. The invading people effaced the monuments of a society they had determined to extirpate, and so effectively extinguished the memory of that civilization that it will need a generation of students to recover and interpret its records. The people of the soil have been in their subjugation debarred from the very sources of learning, and from the opportunities of study and association which are necessary for the historical scholar. The subject too has transcended the courage of the Irish patriot. Histories of nations have been inspired in times of hope and confidence, when the record of triumph has kindled the writers and gladdened the readers. The only story of a "decline and fall" was composed when the dividing width of Europe, with the span of a dozen centuries, and the proud consciousness of the heir of the conquering race, encouraged the historian to describe the catastrophe of a ruined State.

Thus the history of the Irish people has been left unrecorded, as though it had never been; as though indeed, according to some, the history were one of dishonour and rebuke.

It is the object of these studies to gather together some records of the civilization of Ireland before the

immense destruction of the Tudor wars; to trace her progress in industry, in wealth, and in learning; and to discover the forces that ruined this national life. Three reasons have led me to undertake this work.

It was the fashion among the Tudor statesmen, very confident of their methods, to talk of "the godly conquest," "the perfecting of Ireland." The writers of triumphant nations are enabled to give the story of their successes from their own point of view; but from this partial tale not even the victorious peoples can learn what the warfare has implied, nor know how to count the cost nor credit the gain. The present state of Europe is the result of vast destructions and vast obliterations. The aspect of its troubled civilization may one day lead to a new and more searching study of the conditions of such destructions, with their interminable penalties both to the conqueror and the conquered. In the history of Ireland we may learn to measure the prodigious and endless waste of a "godly conquest" and of the "perfecting" of one race by another.

There is no more pious duty to all of Ireland birth than to help in recovering from centuries of obloquy the memory of noble men, Irish and Anglo-Irish, who built up the civilization that once adorned their country. To them has been meted out the second death,—the lot feared beyond all else by men of honour. They have been buried by the false hands of strangers in the deep pit of contempt, reproach, and forgetfulness—an unmerited grave of silence and of shame.

The Irish of to-day have themselves suffered by the calumny of their dead. They, alone among the nations,

have been taunted with ancestors sunk in primitive disorders, incapable of development in the land they wasted. A picture of unrelieved barbarism "hateful to God" served to justify to strangers the English extirpation of Irish society; and has been used to depress the hearts of the Irish themselves. For their birthright—they have been told—they have inherited the failings of their race, and by the verdict of the ages have been proclaimed incapable of success in their own land, or of building up there an ordered society, trade, or culture, and have indeed ever proved themselves a people ready "to go headlong to the Devil" if England "seek not speedy remedy to prevent the same." Thus their energy has been lowered, and some natural pride abated. It is in the study of their history alone that Irishmen will find this just pride restored, and their courage assured.

In this effort however Irishmen are confronted with a singular difficulty. In no other country in the world has it been supposed the historian's business to seek out every element of political instability, every trace of private disorder, every act of personal violence, every foreign slander, and out of these alone, neglecting all indications of industry or virtue, to depict a national life. Irish annals are still in our own days quoted by historians as telling merely the tale of a corrupted land—feuds and battles, murderings and plunderings; with no town or church or monastery founded, no law enacted, no controversy healed by any judgment of the courts. If the same method had been followed for England, what an appalling story we should have had of that mediaeval

time, of its land-thefts, its women-lifting, its local wars, the feuds handed on from father to son with their countless murders and atrocities, devastating for generations whole country sides. In Germany or Italy or France the picture of anarchy would appear like hell let loose on earth. In all other histories however than that of Ireland a certain convention has been observed. Men by some high instinct of faith have agreed amid all disorders to lay stress on every evidence of reason, humanity, justice, and to leave out of the record the tale of local barbarities, the violences of the rich, the brutalities of the ignorant and the starving. No human society could endure in fact if these made up in any nation the sole history of the people. In our country alone the common convention has been reversed, and the comparison of its culture with that of other lands has thus been falsified at the outset. "No man," cried a learned Irishman as the torrent of accusation swelled against his countrymen, "can be so inveterately attached to vice as not to break its chains occasionally, and perform some virtuous action."[1]

Ireland indeed not only shared in the sufferings and confusions of the whole mediaeval world, but had moreover to contend with a ceaseless war of conquest. But in Ireland not less than elsewhere, side by side with mediaeval violence the forces of learning and piety and humanity were maintaining the promise of better things. This was the justification of its patriotic sons in the passion of their sorrow at the destruction of their national civilization.[2] "So are we all impelled,

[1] Cambrensis Eversus iii. 247. [2] Ib. i. 109.

by an instinct of nature," wrote one in the hour of her darkest ruin, "to centre all the affections of our souls on the land that gave us birth. In solitude it engrosses all our thoughts; in society it is our favourite topic; and even when the clouds of woe have closed over it it still commands our sympathies."

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

36 Grosvenor Road,
London, S.W., *June*, 1908.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The revised edition of this book needs a few words of explanation.

Many of the statements I have made have been somewhat hotly controverted.[1] I have therefore added in an appendix additional proofs and illustrations in support of my argument. For example, the idea of Irish tillage and export of corn has been met with incredulity, but, as the illustrations shew, this disbelief has entirely disregarded the testimony of the State Papers. The frequent intercourse with the Continent of traders, travellers, and men of learning, which has been denied by modern English writers on Irish history, seems fully established by the records. A series of entries in home and foreign authorities reveals an extensive and various European

[1] I have discussed some objections in the Nineteenth Century, Mar. 1909.

commerce carried on continuously throughout the Middle Ages till the Elizabethan wars. There is nothing in these entries to support the current opinion which has been urged, that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries marked a time of decay and relapse to semi-barbarism, that industries slackened in districts, or in periods, when Irish influence prevailed over English or Norman. The advance on the other hand was uninterrupted, however complete was the Irish predominance. I have been charged with exaggerating with a false emphasis the part played by the native Irish in town life, in commerce, and in manufactures, which have been claimed as wholly the work of the English: I would refer the reader to the evidence on which I base my statements, which seems to me to put the matter beyond doubt. I have not only given illustrative lists of Irish names that occur in municipal life; but I have also shewn by further references the extent to which the Irish were obliged to take foreign names, a matter that has been much questioned. These are a few of the debated points on which additional references will be found in the appendix.

Some few notes have also been added regarding the progress of Ireland in the arts and sciences. I have found on every hand indications of fresh evidence, and the mine of materials is rich. But this evidence cannot be fully set out without a complete study of Irish sources by competent Irish scholars; an examination by historical students of the materials existing in Irish, English, and foreign libraries and collections; and an investigation by trained archaeologists into the wealth of mediaeval ruins

that should be the glory of Ireland, but are in fact too often rapidly disappearing through indifference.

In the text of the book itself I have carefully corrected various errors of detail which have been pointed out to me, or which I have discovered. Some phrases have also been altered in the hope of avoiding, if possible, misapprehension. And some new notes and references have been given.

I would point out however that these corrections refer in every case to minor points and special instances, and do not affect my general line of argument or my conclusions, which I have seen no reason to change.

The suggestion was made to me by an Irish scholar that in the interests of goodwill I should omit some reflections on modern English versions of Irish history; the suggestion was voluntarily withdrawn after a visit to England where this gentleman happened to see the effects produced in schools by teaching from such books.

Is it too much to hope that English historians should reconsider the history of Ireland which is at present circulated in schools and universities? Those who have seen the results, both in schools and among general readers, must deplore the present state of things.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

Oct. 1909.

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Molmaoid anois daoine táscaṁla, 7 ar naiṫre do ġein sinn.

Do oibriġ an Tiġearna glóir ṁór maille riú tré na ṁórċoṁacht ón ttosach.

An lucht fuair uachtaránacht iona ríoġacht, daoine mórḋálaċa fá na ccoṁachtaibh ag taḃairt ċoṁairle réna ttuicsin, 7 ag foillsiúġadh fáiġedóireachta.

Treoruiġṫóir an ṗobail le na ċoṁairle, 7 le heolus a bḟoġlomṫa iomċuḃaidh don ṗobal, crionna deaġlaḃarṫaċ ann a tteagascaibh.

An drong fuair amach fuinn ceoil, 7 do aiṫriseaḋ dánta a scríḃinn.

Daoine saiḋḃre air mbeiṫ gléusda lé cumas, air mbeith síoḋċánta iona náitiḃ coṁnuiḋe.

Do honóruiġeadh iadso uile iona nginealaċuibh, 7 do buḋ iad glóir a naimsire.

Atáid cuid díoḃ do ḟág ainm iona ndiaiġ, iondus go naiṫreostaoi a molta.

Agus atáid daoine ann aig nach bí cuiṁne air bioth orra, téid as mar naċ beidís riaṁ ann, táinic annsa riocht soin aṁuil nach bearṫaoi riaṁ iad, 7 a cclann iona ndiaigh.

Acht buḋ daoine trócaireaċa iadso naċ ar dearmadaḋ [a] bḟíréantacht.

Aig a sliocht anfuiḋ a ccoṁnuíḋe oiġreacht ṁaith, 7 atáid a cclann taoḃ asdiġ don ċunradh.

Mairiḋ a síol go seasṁach 7 a cclann air a sonsan.

Mairfiḋ a síol go brách, 7 ní scuirfiġear amach a nglóir.

Atáid a ccuirp aḋlaicṫe a síoḋċáin, acht mairidh a nainm go suthuin.

[*From the unpublished MS. of the translation done under Bishop Bedell in Marsh's Library, Dublin.*]

[Let us now

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.

The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through his great power from the beginning.

Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies:

Leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions:

Such as found out musical tunes, and recited verses in writing:

Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations:

All these were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.

There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been; and are become as though they had never been born; and their children after them.

But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.

With their seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and their children are within the covenant.

Their seed standeth fast, and their children for their sakes.

Their seed shall remain for ever, and their glory shall not be blotted out.

Their bodies are buried in peace; but their name liveth for evermore.

PART I.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

I. IRISH COMMERCE.

IRELAND—a name by which the whole island was known in southern France at least as early as 1000 A.D.—was distinguished then as "that very wealthy country in which there were twelve cities, with wide bishoprics, and a king, and which had its own language and Latin letters."[1] Hundreds of years later it was still wealthy. From hence to Rome in all Christendom, men said, was no ground or land like to Ireland, so large, so good, so plenteous, or so rich:[2] "none other but a very Paradise, delicious of all pleasaunce, to respect and regard of any other land in this world."[3]

c. 1000.

c. 1450.

1536.

Ireland had long been desired by continental peoples. In Roman times her channels and harbours, opening to Gaul and Spain, were well known to continental traders from the frequency

[1] Chronicle of Ademar, monk of Angoulême, before 1031; Labbe, Novae Bibl. MSS. tom. 2, p. 177. *v.* app.

[2] Lib. Eng. Policy (Pol. Songs, Rolls Series).

[3] St. Pap. II. iii. 31.

A.D. 82. of commerce and merchants, and Agricola stationed troops in Britain fronting the island, with an idea of rounding off the empire. But the Romans stopped short of the conquest of
790. Ireland. The Norsemen pried out the country and seized or planted trading towns on its coasts. The Danes came with an immense fleet, carrying their wives and children, to extirpate the Irish and occupy in their stead that very wealthy land;
1015. and king Cnut would have made Ireland an outlying part of a vast Northern Empire with its centre at London. That dream too was defeated. From the Welsh cliffs the Norman
1087-1100. William Rufus looked across the Channel towards Ireland—"a land very rich in plunder, and famed for the good temperature of the air, the fruitfulness of the soil, the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation, and safe and large ports and havens lying open for traffic." "For the conquest of that land," said he, "I will gather together all the ships of my kingdom, and will make of them a bridge to cross over." "After so tremendous a threat as that," said the king of Leinster, "did the king add, 'if the Lord
1175. will'?"[1] Henry of Anjou, the empire-maker, established the first lasting settlement of foreigners to dominate Ireland, sat in his timber palace in Dublin, and made treaties with the Irish chiefs.

[1] Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambriae, lib. ii. c. 1 (vol. vi. p. 109, ed. Dimock); Freeman's Rufus, ii. 94.

These invasions drew Ireland into the current of European life, and quickened intercourse of trade. The gradual fusion of Danish settlers was followed by a movement towards a more organized national life, which may be traced in the history of the church, of the state, and of Irish learning. This progress was indeed broken by the violence of the Norman invasion. But again centuries of intercourse overlaid the first animosities of war with kindlier ties of co-operation. Henry's knights, Norman, French, and Welsh, seized lands, built castles, declared themselves conquerors, and, themselves vanquished by the Irish civilization, turned into patriots in their new country. Other settlers came from Germany, Gascony, Savoy, Italy, who had no hostility to Irish civilization. The "foreigners," said a mediaeval Irish writer, "had given up their foreignness for a pure mind, their surliness for good manners, and their stubbornness for sweet mildness, and who had given up their perverseness for hospitality."[1] Successive generations of newcomers cast in their lot with their adopted land, till there was not more than twenty miles about Dublin where men spoke the English tongue or used English law.

XII. cent.

XIII. cent.

1315.

c. 1435.

To the English government the new Anglo-Irish race was as dangerous as the Irish themselves. They petitioned for home rule in law, administration, finance. They made terms with the Irish,

[1] Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, ed. O'Donovan, 1843, p. 136.

and ignored English laws "for the extinction of
1368. amity" between them. "Ireland was at point to be lost."[1] After near three hundred years of war the English were penned into a tract around Dublin—"the little Place," as they called the Pale, "out of which they durst not peep."[2] "There was not left in Dublin, Meath, Louth,
1435. and Kildare, scarce 30 miles in length and 20 in breadth there as a man may surely ride or go in answer to the King's writs and his commandments."[3] In those days 30 miles from Dublin was "by west of English law." "The
1536. English blood of the English conquest is in manner worn out of this land, and at all seasons in manner, without any restoration, is diminished and enfeebled. . . . And, contrary-wise, the Irish blood ever more and more, without such decay, encreaseth."[4] The fifteenth century, like the twelfth, saw the beginnings of a new national upbuilding, which in its turn fell before a new English invasion.

We are not concerned here, however, with the political history of Ireland, but with its industrial and social aspect.

Ireland had carried on trade with the Continent from the earliest times. Her internal traffic was shewn by many an ancient fair, some long forgotten, some which have left at least a memory;

[1] *v.* app.
[2] Hav. 355; Hol. vi. 21-2.
[3] Gilbert's Viceroys, 331.
[4] St. Pap. II. iii. 338.

like the Fair of Teltown, renowned down to the Middle Ages;[1] the Fair of Connacht;[2] the Fair of Clapping of Hands;[3] the Fair of Carmain;[4] Aonach, now Nenagh, "the place of fairs"; Monaster-anenagh;[5] Killeagh in Offaly; Dunananie near the landing-place of the sons of Usnach, a trading place of the Scots.[6] The people of Tuam gather to this day in a bare field three miles out of the town, remote from any shop or public-house, to an ancient Fair of Tulach na Dala (the Hillock of Assembly), and, despising all persuasion to bring the fair into their town, still buy and sell once a year on the silent spot formerly peopled and prosperous by the industry of their fathers. The chiefs maintained highways of communication, and took compensation for any injury done them.[7] Seven kinds of roads were recognised, high-ways, x. cent. cross-roads, avenues, lanes, etc.; and three regular cleansings for each, from brushwood, water, and weeds; to be made in the times of horse-racing, of winter, and of war.[8] The five ways to Tara were in use down to the sixteenth century; the "sanctuary of Ireland was the House of Cairnech upon the Road of Asal,"[9] that ran from Tara

[1] 4 M. 23, 392, 414, 417, 541, 1169 (A.D. 1168).
[2] 4 M. 552. [3] 4 M. 371. [4] 4 M. 914 (see note p. 40).
[5] 4 M. 1266 n.
[6] *v.* The "fair of crosses" in Antrim. Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, 31.
[7] O'Grady Cat. 81, 384.
[8] *v.* app. [9] Triads, K. Meyer.

across West-Meath. A king of Gowran, in Great Munster, had his house on the "noisy" or frequented Pass of Gowran, and the earls of Ormond as their first adventure planted themselves on that road and took its tolls. At Raithlean the O'Mahonys maintained the Road of the Chariots to the north, the Road of the Mules below, and the Ford of Spoils eastward.[1]

Early commerce in Ireland, as in England, was greatly developed by the sea-going Danes, makers of ships and builders of towns. The settlement of the Normans, "citizens" of the world, opened here too a new era. Financiers, merchants, speculators, from Germany, France, and Italy, poured into Ireland. A surprising number of fairs and
1200 markets were granted by John and Henry III.,
-1230. which can scarcely have been all new, and some of which students may trace back to earlier times. Trade was not limited to markets within the Pale, such as Trim, Athboy, Fore, or Maynooth;[2] in Irish lands there was the market town of Port-na-
1231. Cairge[3] near Boyle, built by Cormac MacDermot; Rory O'Connor's stone-built town of Ballymote; Tirerill in Sligo; and many more from end to end of the country.

The commerce developed by the Normans increased through the whole period of the Irish revival. In the decay of English interference, in

[1] *v.* app. [2] Col. Doc. Sweetman, i. 2696; iii. 238.
[3] Annals of Boyle.

the helplessness of the government to enforce English law and manners, and in the ceasing of English plantations, the industries of Ireland multiplied. New markets were founded, and the old added new activities. Irish moneys called Reillys, an Act alleged,[1] do increase from day to 1447.
day to the hurt of the King's mint. There was much exchange of gold and silver: and great carriage of plate was made into England.

All Ireland shared in this prosperity. In Wexford the fair at Eniscorthy[2] on Great Lady Day "is far the greatest of any in Ireland, and held yearly, and usually at a day certain"; it would be hard to number or describe, the Annals say, all the steeds, horses, gold, silver, foreign wares at that fair. There were markets at Irishtown near Kilkenny, at Youghal, incorporated 1463.
under earl Thomas of Desmond, at Dungarvan 1483.
and Maynooth.[3] Perhaps the greatest extension of commerce was in the border countries between Leinster and Ulster, running from Dundalk to Sligo by Longford, Granard and Cavan. In Cavan, lying in the shelter of the morasses and mazes of Lough Oughter, we may still trace the remains of a peaceful and undefended open trading centre—the sunny valley with gardens stretching up the hills, the great monastery, and by its side on a

[1] Ir. St. 1447. [2] Car. ii. 343; 4 M. p. 1631.
[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 363; Smith's Waterford; Gilbert's Viceroys, 414.

low lift of grass the palace and business centre of the O'Reillys, among the greatest of Irish trading chiefs, whose money was spread by their traffic over all Ireland, and was even "commonly current" in England. The Maguires were famed for the husbandry, crafts, and commerce that occupied the men of Enniskillen.

From market to market[1] the country was traversed by roads or by water-ways. It is commonly supposed that the Irish had no roads, and indeed it is evident that the people obliterated all passages before the advance of invading troops. But where the English armies had not yet penetrated, the deputy was surprised to see the highways and paths so well beaten.[2] We hear, for example, of an open road[3] that ran
1478. between Rathconyll[4] and Queylan, used only by the "Irish enemies of the King," where were to be seen trains of bullocks and horsepacks of merchandise and victuals, to the profit of these "Irish enemies." Roads from one monastery to another served the double purpose of religion and of trade, such as the famous pilgrims' way which led from the east to Clew Bay, traversed

[1] *v.* app. [2] Fynes Moryson, 77.

[3] Tr. Rel. to Irel. St. of Kilk. 82-3 n.

[4] Rathconyll is probably Rathconnell about three miles north-east of Mullingar; there is another Rathconnell in Kildare. Queylan would probably now be Anglicised "Cullen," but where it is I am unaware. This trading road may possibly have been the ancient Slighe Asail. Rathconnell is at any rate in Magh Asail.

by pilgrims to Croagh Patrick and by traders to Westport and Burris. There was some making of bridges. Turlough O'Connor made three bridges,[1] Athlone and Athcroghta over the 1120.
Shannon and Dunlo upon the Suck. Where Bandon now stands there was an ancient bridge of the O'Mahonys, Droghid-Ui-Mahouna. Manus O'Conor built a bridge in Leitrim.[2] 1244.
"There hath been a worthy prelate, canon in 1319.
the cathedral church of Kildare, named Maurice Jake, who among the rest of his charitable deeds builded the bridge of Kilcoollen, and the next year following he builded in like manner the bridge of Leighlin, to the great and daily commodity of all such as are occasioned to travel in those quarters."[3] In later days O'Brien, lord of Thomond, made his famous bridge over the 1506.
Shannon of good timber, in length 300 paces.

We know how the Roman roads driven across England formed its main communications till some 1400 years brought them to decay. England had no mediaeval road-makers who could overcome the difficulties of bog and mountain. In Ireland the traveller who drives from Dundrum through the hillocks of Monaghan, with sinuous marshes creeping up every hollow and valley, or who follows the threatening passes from Sligo to

[1] 4 M. a. 1120. Athcroghta was by the ford, opposite Shannon Harbour in King's County; Dunlo was part of Ballinasloe.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 332-3.

[3] Hol. vi. 45. *v.* app.

Enniskillen, or crosses the shaking bogs, or the mountains of Munster or of Wicklow, will not wonder that the old Irish were content in such places to carry their traffic on mountain ponies and pack-horses along paths known to the people. They used too the natural waterways of the country, now neglected. Ruins of villages and little ports on the water's edge still tell of the once active life on lake and river. Long before the English invasion men of Connacht and
1124. Leinster had their fleets on the Shannon; and when Elizabethan adventurers got grants of a monopoly of the Shannon traffic, the Irish were accused of "distressing Her Majesty's boats and victuals and disturbing the trade of merchandise upon the river."[1] The lakes of Leitrim and Cavan, the Upper and Lower Erne where at Enniskillen the masts of Maguire's fleet stood as it were a grove along the shore,[2] the Bann, the Barrow and the Nore and the Suir,[3] were gay with boats—three large and navigable rivers these last, by which inland commodities could be cheaply carried to Waterford from the very centre of the kingdom, out of the seven counties washed by those rivers and other adjacent lands.[4] "Would God," cried a deputy, weary of his

[1] 4 M. a. 1124, 1127, 1135; Camb. Ev. ii. 187; Car. ii. 284, 371; C.S.P. 1580, 239, 474.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 431.

[3] 13th Eliz. c. ii.; C.S.P. 1552, 126. *v.* app.

[4] Smith's Waterford, 168.

toilsome marches, "that all carriage was by water!"

Until the traces of earlier industry have been systematically collected it must be but guess-work to apportion to the various peoples their share in the development of Ireland. Coming to a land well known to commerce, the Normans opened new channels of trade, and exploited a wealth which in its origin owed nothing to them. After their settlement the work of material progress and of culture was carried on by the two races, Anglo-Norman and Irish. Men of Ireland, skilled craftsmen at home, traded over Europe, and through their constant communication with the Continent kept in relation with foreign learning, while maintaining their own culture.

It was in fact the activity, the importance, and the riches of Ireland that drew to it the attention of commercial England under the Tudor kings. For in the spacious days of their business adventures, wealth that was not in English hands seemed to practical Englishmen resources merely wasted and lost. Traders and adventurers overran the country, and gave vent to their anger at the people's unwillingness to hand over to them all the profits of their labour. Ireland, said the speculators, "hath not shewed herself so bountiful a mother in pouring forth riches as she proveth herself an envious step-dame." They were shocked at the sloth of him "who will not by his painful

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travail reap the fruit and commodity that the earth yieldeth," for the benefit apparently of the English invader. They cried out to the world that the Irishman was idle, negligent, without enterprise, the profligate waster of his rich resources. "Diligent Englishmen" were needed to replace these "luskish loiterers," and so fair a land made perfect by "the bringing in of a better race."

The true answer to these political legends can only be given by a scientific study of mediaeval Irish history, such as has never yet been attempted. The practical Englishman of that day indeed had himself no belief in fictions of Irish lethargy and incapacity for business. The English difficulty, in fact, was how to destroy the trading and industrial energies of their rivals. For if at one time the Irish were charged with having no activities, at another it was said they
1429. had too much. "Divers Irish enemies of our Lord the King" were accused in an act of parliament of raising and holding among them different fairs and markets where English colonists were drawn to buy and sell, and Irish enemies gained great custom and profit in their too successful competition: and fifty years after the
1480. lament was renewed—"to wit, they have commenced markets in the country of O'Reilly and the country of O'Farrell, at Cavan, Granard, Longford, and other places, which, if they be

long continued, will cause great riches to the King's enemies."[1]

The inland trade fed and was in turn supported by a large European commerce. There was extensive Irish trade with France, Spain, and Italy as far south as Naples: merchants of the society of the Ricardi of Lucca were dwelling 1294.
in Ireland, and foreigners of the dominion of the king of France, who carried their merchandise to sell.[2] Youghal merchants traded in Bordeaux. Irish ships sailed to Bruges, each 1265.
mariner allowed to carry as his provision four 1323.
barrels of beef, salmon, suet, butter, and lard. At the request of Ghent, Bruges, Ipres, and 1387.
Franc, Phillippe le Hardi gave a special safe conduct to Irish merchants to settle in the Low Countries with their goods and families;[3] and "ships of Ireland" were long known in Antwerp.[4] 1565
Wine was carried by Irish navigators in their own vessels; the chiefs were used to make the pilgrimage to Compostella, sometimes two or three times, and commerce followed the road of pilgrimage and intercourse. So frequent was ocean traffic that when Chester wanted to send

[1] Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii. Stat. Kilk. 115, 117. *v.* app.

[2] Cal. Doc. Sweetman, 77-80. Edward I. (1294) for the Ricardi debts owed to him ordered the Lucca merchants in Ireland to be attached. *v.* app.

[3] Gilliodts Van Severen Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges, t. i. pp. 49, 50, 87, 89, 156, 358 n., 424, 435 (Bruges, 1904).

[4] Shirley, 175; Macpherson, Ann. Com. i. 706.

messengers in a hurry to Spain, they went by way of Ireland as the quickest route, a fact which shows the number of Spanish trading ships in Irish waters. Capacious harbours, where navies might lie at anchor, are now left vacant and unfrequented, so that scarce a sail save that of a poor fisherman's boat can be seen on their broad waters. But every port in the circuit of Ireland was then filled with ships busy in the Continental trade, and in 1570 Stanihurst reckoned 88 "chief haven towns."[1]

A rapid circuit round the coasts of Ireland may give some idea of the business done in these harbours. The ships of Bretons, Spaniards, French and Scots sailed up the narrow seas of the east.[2] There Wexford, Dublin, and Drogheda had their own shipping; in case of danger Drogheda could successfully man its fleet[3] as well
c. 1140. as Dublin. They traded with Chester, Gloucester, Chepstow, and Bristol—"a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same from Ireland"[4]—supplying wine at times to these ports, and they imported stores of powder, lead, and ammunition, which they sold to the
1500. Irish.[5] Dublin had a very large Continental trade, its great fair of S. James crowded with foreign merchants, its market "stored by strangers" with coal and fruit and wine, carpets, broad-cloth

[1] Hol. vi. 35. *v.* app. [2] *v.* app. [3] C.S.P. 1509, 1. *v.* app.
[4] Hakluyt, I. 315. [5] C.S.P. 1543, 67.

and kerseys, velvet, silk, satin, cloth of gold and embroideries.[1]

Dundrum harbour was dangerous from shoals and reefs: there Shane O'Neill had great cellars, where 200 tuns of wine were commonly stored.[2] In the 106 miles of coast that lie between Kingstown mole and Belfast bay, there is but one harbour where a ship can enter at all stages of the tide without a local pilot—Ardglass; traces remain of the shore road that connected it with the neighbouring harbour of Killough, used for the out-trade, and known as "the haven of Ardglass." It is said that a trading company with a grant from Henry IV. built the famous "New Works." Close to the harbour ran a range of buildings 250 feet long, with three square towers, walls three feet thick pierced on the sea-side only by narrow loop-holes, and opening into the bawn with sixteen square windows, and fifteen arched door-ways of cut stone that gave entrance to eighteen rooms on the ground floor and eighteen above. A wall surrounded the bawn or court of the New Works sloping up the hill, and on the higher ground a building with narrow loopholes must have been part of the defences. Since the destruction of 1790, the great circuit of the enclosure, the massive New Works, with the old central tower and remnants of another by the

[1] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 8-16; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 233. *v.* app.

[2] Hol. vi. 331.

water's edge, and the line of the road by the shore, alone survive of a trade the very recollection of which is lost.

The town had a port-reeve and corporation in mediaeval times,[1] and sent members to parliament. English kings from John to Henry VIII. granted it in frequent generosity to courtiers. Its many forts—King's castle, Jordan's castle, Horn castle, Cowd castle, Margaret castle[2]—tell of wars that raged round so important a harbour. The O'Neill burned the town in 1433 : in 1453 Henry O'Neill of Clannaboy was driven back from Ardglass by the help of a Dublin fleet. At the close of the fifteenth century the English almost disappeared out of Lecale.[3] The great Earl of Kildare[4] marching to protect Magennis from the Savadges, was allowed supremacy of Ardglass and the lands about it ; the next earl Gerald got a grant from
1514. Henry VIII. of the customs of Strangford and Ardglass, which traded in wines, cloth, kerseys, all kinds of fish, wool and tallow.[5] In the rising
1538. of Gerald's son, Silken Thomas, the English
1552. marched through, burning Lecale ;[6] but when they

[1] Harris saw the charter in 1744.

[2] Grose's Antiq. II. 96. *v.* app.

[3] O'Laverty, Down and Connor, 342.

[4] He claimed through his mother to inherit Lecale which Richard II. had given to her ancestor d'Artois.

[5] A copy of this interesting grant, with the list of services to be given by the tenants, is in the Belfast Morning News of June 27, 1902.

[6] Annals of Dublin, Dublin Penny Journal, 1832-3, 315.

sought to plant in it the new earl of Kildare, an obedient Angliciser, Shane O'Neill cast them out and "forcibly patronised himself in all Lecale . . . and the Ardes, which are great countries."[1] In that time of his pride, "the queen had nothing in possession in this vast tract of land but the miserable town of Carrickfergus, whose goods he would take as oft as he listed."

The English castle of Carrickfergus was planted on the site of an ancient Irish fort. On a rock thirty feet high a huge fortress like the White Tower of London rose sheer above the waters of Belfast Lough, dominating this second chief harbour of Ulster to the east. A castle, a church, a dozen stone houses, and a number of circular dome-shaped huts made up this military post.[2] We may still see the Irish town lying on one side of the fortress, the English on the other; and the old circular huts survived, built then in stone, till the end of the eighteenth century. Two years after the "New Works" at 1578.
Ardglass had been taken by Bagenall, the English pulled down Woodburn abbey at Carrickfergus 1580.
and used the stones to build Castle stores, calling them their own "New Works." The old Irish fair persisted: "In Carrickfergus twice a week a good market was kept,[3] where out of the

[1] Sidney to Walsingham, 1583.

[2] Uls. Arch. Journal, N.S. v. 4.

[3] Car. ii. 342.

English Pale, the Isle of Man, and Scotland came much merchandise, victuals, and other commodities, and out of France; and in one summer three barks of 40 tons apiece discharged their loading of excellent good Gascoigne wine, the which they sold for 9 cowskins the hogshead."

The fortresses of Ardglass and Carrickfergus are note-worthy because they recall the secular conflict that was waged across S. George's channel for the possession of the growing Irish trade. But the chief harbours of Ireland did not front England: it was to the great Ocean that they looked, and the direct commerce with the Continent. O'Donnell's country "was large, profitable, and good, that a ship under sail may come to four of his houses": "King of fish"[1] he was called, for his great commerce in fish for foreign goods. Hulks were laden in France for O'Donnell with salt;[2] trading ships frequented Lough Foyle, Lough Swilly, and the bay of Donegal, and from Ulster carried staple merchandise to Scotland,[3] without heeding any claim of the foreign king for tolls.

The ports and islands of Connacht were full of ships that sailed the Atlantic from the Orkneys to Spain. For the province was by nature opened to trade. "There are upwards of twenty safe

[1] Car. i. 308.
[2] C.S.P. 1592, 524.
[3] Ir. St. 12th Ed. IV.

and capacious harbours fit for vessels of any burthen; about 26 navigable lakes in the interior of a mile or more in length, besides hundreds smaller; the sea-coast and these lakes abound with fish." The castle of Sligo, built by Maurice FitzGerald, fell back to the Irish O'Conor, maker of the stone bridge at Ballysadare.[1] An Irish city whose buildings of wood and stone were said to be splendid, whose ships traded with Spain, and carried cloth to Southampton[2] (doubtless for the trade with the Low Countries), Sligo was one of the chief ports of the west. "This county, or these countries," wrote Sir H. Sydney,[3] "are well inhabited and rich, and more haunted with strangers than I wish it were, unless the Queen were better answered of her custom." MacWilliam of Mayo "is a great man," and in his land "he has many goodly havens." On his coast the ÓMáilles, the most expert mariners in Ireland, swept the sea with their famous long-ships[4] far beyond the western isles—"John of the Sails" famous among them in Elizabeth's day; and the chief ÓMáille,[5] "an original Irishman, strong in galleys and seamen"; not to speak of the "most famous feminine sea-captain, Grania ÓMáille," with three galleys and two hundred fighting-men at her command, wife

1245. 1318. 1360. 1576. 1513.

[1] 4 M. 315, 619.

[2] Green, Town Life, ii. 289; O'Rourke's Sligo, 349-50.

[3] Car. ii. 48-9. [4] 4 M. 1323. [5] Car. ii. 49, 285, 353.

of Richard-in-Iron Burke, whom "she brought with her, for she was as much by sea as by land more than Mrs. Mate with him." Their ruined church on Clew bay is crowded with the graves of O'Conors, Kellys, O'Donnells,
1580. O'Craidhens: "Buresowle,[1] an Abbey standing very pleasant upon a river side, within three miles from the sea, where a ship of 500 tons may lie at anchor at low water. It hath a goodly and large lough on the upper part of the river, full of great timber, grey marble, and many other commodities; there cometh thither every year likely about fifty English ships for fishing; they have been before this time compelled to pay a great tribute to the ÓMáilles which I have forbidden hereafter" (in other words an honest rent for the fishing). "It is accounted," Malby adds, "one of the best fishing places in Ireland for salmon, herring, and all kind of sea-fish." Another castle of ÓMáille commanded the southern half of the bay[2]—"Cathair-na-Mart," the Stone Fort of the Beeves, was remembered till our own time by the Irish when the stones had been long removed, and gave its Irish name to Westport. South of these the O'Flahertys held a long line of coast: Morogh ne Moor[3] in
1588. Elizabeth's time had a fleet of galleys—Tibbott
1599. na Long (Theobald of the Ships), was his half brother.

[1] C.S.P. 1580, lxii-iii, 216. [2] 4 M. 1803 n. [3] W. Conn. 402.

A mile outside Galway the road climbs a hill, where suddenly there burst on the visitor's sight the towers of Galway, lying in its fair bay and girt about with lakes. On that "Hand to Face Hill," Buais-le-héadan, the frequent travellers of an older time, Irish merchants, pilgrims, minstrels, factors of the trading chiefs, were used at the first sight of Galway to cross themselves and bless the town. Under Turlough O'Conor[1] there was a strong fort at Galway, and a fleet in the bay. Munster long fought with Connacht for so important a site. Richard de Burgo built a new fort to mark his dominion; but the O'Briens, lords of the Arran islands, remained the traditional guardians of the bay, and policed it for a tribute of twelve tuns of wine yearly, of connoue[2] and ·meals given to them every year within the town for two days and two nights, and a promise of aid at all times from the Galway men. 1125. 1154. 1232.

From St. James' Fair at Compostella, the centre of the Galway trade, merchants of Ireland spread over Spain and Portugal. There is remembrance in the Church of S. Nicholas of centuries of trade with S. Malo and other ports

[1] *v.* app.

[2] *Connow* or *connowe* seems to be merely an anglicised form of *coinneamh* or *coinnmheadh*, usually turned into *coyne* or *coyney*: it may be founded on the south Connacht pronunciation of the Irish word. Its meaning is "entertainment" or "billeting."

of France, from the old French tomb-stone of the early fourteenth century for Adam Burie, to the French inscription on the bell of 1631.

1361. Galway ships sailed to Lisbon and to Lübeck.[1] Her markets held Irish cloaks, Irish cloth

1381. and blankets coarse and fine, Irish linen, sail-cloth and ropes, leather, gloves, brogues for the poor and ornamental shoes for the rich, baskets, carts, chests and boxes, dishes and platters, kettles, hemp and flax, nails; with all kinds of skins, and cheese, butter, and honey. They sold carpets; there was coal and cloth from England; wine from Canary and the Levant, with ginger, saffron, figs, pepper, and cloves; gold thread and satins from Italy; iron and wine from Spain; woad, salt, and wine from Toulouse and Picardy; painted glass, such as adorned their church.[2] In the sixteenth century Galway had become one of the greatest ports of the British islands, and paid £1000 of impost a year.[3] Its streets

1485. were already lined with "houses all of hewed stone up to the top, garnished with fair battlement in an uniform course, as if the whole town had been built upon one model," all thatch and straw forbidden:[4] and besides these mansions

1568. built after the Spanish fashion, merchants and

[1] C.S.P. 1587, 320; *v.* p. 25.

[2] Hard. Gal. App. xviii, xx, 58, 208.

[3] C.S.P. 1587, 394; Hard. Galway; Tuckey's Cork, 35.

[4] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. v. App. 399.

craftsmen had country houses. An Italian traveller[1] being at mass at a private house, "saw, at one view, the blessed sacrament in the hands of the priest, boats passing up and down the river, a ship entering the port in full sail, a salmon killed with a spear, and hunters and hounds pursuing a deer; upon which he observed, that, although he had travelled the greatest part of Europe, he had never before witnessed a sight which combined so much variety and beauty."

Munster possessed "such commodity of havens as indeed I think in all Europe in so short a tract of ground there is not so many good to be found."[2] Galway's closest neighbour and competitor was Limerick, "a wondrous proper city, and it may be called Little London for the situation and the plenty.[3] A ship of 200 tons might sail to the quay of Limerick, and it had, like Galway and Sligo, its stone houses, and its citizens dressed in Irish array with silk embroideries and peaked shoes. In its midst was the church said to be built by Donnell O'Brien; and the poorest streets still hold ruins of stone houses where Limerick merchants once grew wealthy on Irish trade. 1168-1194.

Munster "of the swift ships" was famed for

[1] Hard. Gal. 79, 85. [2] Sid. Let. 24.

[3] Ir. Sept. 153, 215, 228; *v.* C.S.P. 1579, 188. Gilliodts van Severen. Cart. de Bruges, iii. 52; Hol. vi. 30; Lenihan's Lim. 74; 4 M. a. 1413; Car. i 411. *v.* app.

934-954. its wealth. Its fleet sailed east to battle with
1127. Danes of Dublin, or west to fight the men of Connacht.[1] Enriched by Danish and Norman
1303-19. enterprise Cork had its stone houses, its bridges and quays and paved streets and water conduits.
1450. The eleven parishes of the city stretched a mile every way within the walls, and round the walls
1344. lay a mile of "suburbs." Cork merchants were
1359. allowed to pass freely out of Ireland when all other travellers were forbidden.[2] Into its harbour sailed great ships from Venice, alongside of those of France and Spain,[3] and from the opulent trade of the merchants their wives "kept very honourable, at least very plentiful houses."[4] Dungarvan, Kinsale, Youghal,[5] Bantry, Baltimore, all had their busy trade with Europe. The
1295. men of Kerry traded from the Continent to Scotland—Irish men of the race and affinity of the Scots. MacCarthy had "a number of good havens at his devotion, and those not without many galleys and other convenient shipping."
1537. O'Driscoll of Baltimore could put to sea with his chief galley of thirty oars, and above three
1376. or four score of pinnaces.[6] Kinsale, a staple
1380. town, was given the customs of its sea traffic

[1] Cellachan of Cashel, Bugge, 76, 95-113, 151; 4 M. a. 1125, 1127.

[2] Tuckey's Cork, 15-23, 38. [3] C.S.P. 1548, 92; Car. i. 439.

[4] MacCarthy, Life and Letters, 2. *v.* app.

[5] Smith's Cork, i. 114. *v.* app. [6] Tuckey's Cork, 47.

for building its wall, and Athenry merchants,[1] sailing from Galway to Lübeck, touched there to pay their dues when stubborn Galway refused 1416.
to admit an English collector of customs. Cork and Kinsale were closely united in business, as we may see by the Latin inscription in the church to Patrick Mede, or Meagh, burgess and 1558.
often sovereign of Kinsale, and citizen of Cork.[2] A traveller in the eighteenth century describes the relics of the ancient wealth of Dingle (a forlorn village now)—the remembrance of Spanish merchants who had lived there for commerce and built the church dedicated to S. James of Compostella—the houses "built in the Spanish fashion, with ranges of stone balcony windows, this place being formerly much frequented by ships of that nation who traded with the inhabitants and came to fish on this coast; most of them are of stone, with marble doors and window frames." One Rice carved on the house 1563.
he built two roses, and beneath them a notice that, "At the Rose is the best Wine." While travellers "well refreshed" themselves, "the Irish harp sounded sweetly" in their ears.[3] The country round was full of people industrious

[1] In the murage charter of Athenry (1310) we find mentioned among a number of other articles of trade Irish cloth and mantles, linen, cheese, butter, oil, wax, honey, verdigris, onions, nails, wheels, brass and copper worked and unworked, iron implements. W. Connacht, 266.

[2] Tuckey's Cork, 27, 28, 32, 35, xxxvi.

[3] Soc. of Ant., 1852, II. i. 133.

and prosperous: every parish having its own church, many of which were very large as appears by their ruins; while several of the mountains, though but of poor and stony soil, are marked by old enclosures and other signs of former culture even to the very tops.

Waterford—said to have been called by the Irish the harbour of the sun[1]—was full of traffic by means of their excellent good haven, the people thereof "very civil, and for this country full of industry."[2] The quay, above half a mile in length, was held not inferior but rather to exceed the most celebrated in Europe, for to it the largest trading vessels might conveniently come to load and unload, and at a small distance opposite to it lie constantly afloat, sixty of them at a time—French, Spanish, Portuguese, Florentine, from the Netherlands and Brittany.[3] The town made a boast of the wealthy citizen of Bruges "le Noble de le scluse," who amid the lamentations of Bruges settled at Waterford,[4] and was buried in a fine tomb in

[1] Smith's Waterford, 166.

[2] Sid. Let. 22. Some of their articles of commerce are given in Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 290.

[3] Tr. Rel. to Ireland, ii., Kilk. Stat. 18 n.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 330, 267, 289.

[4] Smith's Waterford, 176:

"Bruges crie et lamente,
Après son citadin.
Waterford s'en augmente,
D'avoir fait tel Butin"

records the inscription.

the cathedral. A contest of centuries with Baltimore and with New Ross for command of the foreign trade shows the energy with which their commerce was prosecuted.[1] Their practical capa- 1591.
city was proved in the conduit which was highly thought of 200 years later. "Many towns abroad are much admired by travellers for the conveniency of having two or three fountains in a town; but although these may contribute to the beauty of a place, yet it must be allowed that the advantages of having water conveyed by pipes to every street are much more preferable and convenient."[2]

In all these cities of the south the earls of Desmond kept retainers and factors for their foreign trade. They had a house in the city of Waterford.[3] Earl James aimed at building up a fleet to command the Irish Channel, and to secure the commerce of his country[4] from English piracy. The Spanish envoy reported that Desmond kept better justice than any other 1530.
chief, and robbers and man-slayers were executed out of hand; that his people were in high order and discipline, armed with short bows and swords, and his own guard in mail from neck to heel; and that he had a number of horse, some trained to break a lance, and all admirable riders

[1] Smith's Waterford, 127-9, 140, 176. *v.* app.
[2] Smith's Waterford, 196-8. [3] C.S.P. 1587, 311.
[4] Car. i. 309, Pap. F. and D. Henry VIII. iv. ii. 4485, p. 1962. *v.* C.S.P. 1525, p. 5, n. 50, 52; p. 7, n. 66.

without stirrup or saddle.[1] His people were very civil, in manner the best in Ireland, and well fed with fish, beef, and wine. He kept
1528. his ships stirring. Twenty thousand Irishmen flocked over to St. David's and round Milford Haven. Tenby was almost all Irish, rulers and commons, and a townsman there had two heavily armed ships manned by Irish sailors: "they will take no English or Welsh into their service."

Rich in all that was wanted for daily life, there were only two necessaries that Ireland had to ask of other lands—salt and iron. A salt well at Carrickfergus was used in old days, but the salt-mines there were only opened in modern times; and as Strafford pointed out, salt was a first necessity for much of the Irish trade[2]—the preserving of fish and meat and skins. There was some iron in the country,[3] but it had long been the custom for Irish smiths to mix Irish iron with Spanish. Except however for these two articles the trade of Ireland with Europe was a trade of luxuries, which she bought with what remained over of her produce when her own people were fed and clothed.

"Rich store of wine" was the chief and the

[1] Froude's Pilgrim, 173.

[2] Strafford's Letters (Dub. 1740), i. 93.

[3] "There is very rich and great plenty of Iron stone, and one sort more than we have in England, which they call Bog mine, of the which a smith there will make at his forge Iron presently." Irish Arch. Soc. 1841; Payne, 6.

most ancient import, since the days of the wine-drinking at Tara festivals under King Laoghaire. Gaulish merchants from "the land of the Franks" sold wine at Clonmacnois in the time of S. Ciaran:[1] the Norsemen of Limerick who paid tribute to Brian Boru of a tun of wine for every day in the year only developed an existing Irish trade with Gaul and Spain. In 1381, 8d. had been fixed as the price of a bottle of red wine of Gascony,[2] two hundred years later wine was sold at Youghal for 4d. a gallon,[3] and 1000 tuns of Spanish wine were imported yearly into Munster alone.[4] Galway and Waterford exceeded the commerce even of Cork: Galway, which practically monopolised the wine trade of the west and north-west, was reported to have had vaults and stores on the site of the great fair at Athboy in Meath, the ruins of which it is said remain to this day.[5] When in course of their wars the English occupied the towns and English fleets seized their trade, Irish ships still "ran into every creek and unhaunted port and place with cargoes that paid no revenue to the queen."[6]

550.

1000.

Materials of war too were imported, "the commodities which the Irish make by entertaining pirates," said the English, "and also Portingalls

[1] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 277.
[2] Tuck. Cork, 30.
[3] Car. i. 76.
[4] Car. ii. 286. *v.* app.
[5] Hard. Gal. 79.
[6] Ir. St. p. 410.

and Spaniards that yearly come to fish in those harbours, bringing with them powder, calivers, sculls, targets, swords, and other munition, whereby the idle men of this realm are most plentifully replenished."[1] There was much trade in eastern
XIII. cent. spices and in costly materials of Europe, displayed in every market. In the towns merchants' wives[2] and even their servants went abroad splendid in gold embroidery and silk and taffetas, in furs and fringed laces, wearing coloured hats and caps trimmed with costly gold thread from Genoa or Venice, and pointed shoes. The young men, even the prentices, paraded in gorgeous apparel of silk garments and linings of silk, with long double ruffs thick and starched, fine knit silken stockings, and foreign pantoufles—shoes with beaks and points and laces of silver.[3] Their display was rivalled by the Irish captains. From Venice came the rich stuffs for O'Donnell's coat of crimson velvet with 20 or 30 pairs of aiglets, and cloak of rich crimson satin bordered with black velvet.[4] "Rich dresses" are always mentioned as part of the plunder of the camps in war.[5] "Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves pleated, thirty yards

[1] Car. ii. 285. [2] 28th H. VIII.

[3] Hard. Gal.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 336.

[4] Haverty, 371 n.

[5] 4 M. pp. 1551, 1559; Cormac's Poem, Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, p. 39.

are little enough for one of them."[1] "Against the high feasts as Christmas and Easter,"[2] said their enemies, "there is no Irishman of war . . . but will steal, rob out of churches and elsewhere, to go gay at a feast, yea, and bestoweth for saffron and silk to one shirt many times five marks." The Irish women were not behind the merchants' wives in stateliness of dress: when Margaret O'Carrol, wife of Calvagh of Offaly, entertained 1450.
the poets and learned men of Ireland, it was in a dress of cloth of gold that she stood on the "garret" of the church, and made offerings of golden cups at the altar.[3] English law in vain proclaimed that there should be no saffron dye for caps and ties and smocks, no women's garments "embroidered or garnished with silk, nor couched nor laid with usker" after the Irish fashion.[4]

A trade on such a scale as this could scarcely be paid for, as we are asked to believe, by the raw hides or salt fish of barbarian traffickers, nor was it the work of "luskish loiterers." It might even seem that Ireland carried out more goods than she brought in, from the English complaint of 'large tributes of money' given 1465.
her by the foreigner, such as must cause the enemies' increase in wealth,[5] and the augmentation of their power and force.

English writers, concerned at Ireland's growing

[1] Camp. cap. vi. [2] St. P. II. iii. 450. [3] See ch. ix.
[4] 28th H. VIII. c. 15; Camb. Ev. ii. 205. [5] Ir. St. 1465, c. vi.

1437. prosperity, drew up lists of the many commodities of her trade.[1] "They have havens, great and goodly bays;" "it is fertile for things that there do grow;" "of silver and gold there is the ore." The Irish merchants' mansions, an eye-witness tells, were adorned with costly furniture, and the stranger was ever welcome to the hospitable and splendid board. "Commerce was not less busy or profitable in our cities than in those of other countries."[2]

Ireland in fact was a country of active and organised industry, with skilled manufacturers and a wide commerce. Its artizans and merchants had long been passing over to other lands for trade in considerable numbers. A multitude, said Sir
1576. Henry Sydney, of poor men of Ireland were freemen of divers mean crafts in London,[3] as they were of many other cities. Besides these working people there were Irish vintners and goldsmiths and merchants of good fame, with their apprentices, in London and all the English towns.[4] Irish dealers carried to Liverpool "much
1533. Irish yarn that Manchester men do buy there."

[1] Hakluyt, ii. 132-3.

[2] Camb. Ev. i. 61. "Touching the customs of this realm in the time of king Edward the Third, that those duties in those days should yearly amount to ten thousand marks, which by my own search and view of the records here, I can justly control." Davies, 30, D. 1787.

[3] Car. i. 133. *v.* app.

[4] Green, Town Life, i. 173-4; ii. 41, 42, 206, 289; St. H. v. 1413; Berry, Stat. 560; Gilb. Viceroys, 308.

Men of Dublin and Drogheda joined the Corpus Christi Guild of Coventry. Irish vessels fed the smuggling trade of Gloucester in its fight with Bristol. Edmund Yryshe, a brewer, was alder- 1547.
man and mayor of Oxford.[1] Irishmen flocked 1551.
in numbers to Bristol, and took their places on the Town Council, till the order went out that no Irishman born within the country of 1437.
Ireland of an Irish father and mother should be in future admitted to the Common Council.[2] The year after the victory at St. Albans of the Duke of York, lord lieutenant of Ireland, some daring "Irish burgesses began a suit 1456.
against the Mayor and Council before my Lord Chancellor, with subpoenas and privy seals, of which Irishmen one Harry May was vaunt parloure and chief labourer."[3] It was for this appeal to law in defence of some liberty that "he and all his fellows were discommerced of their freedom till they bought it again with the 1456.
blood of their purses, and with weeping eyes, kneeling on their knees, besought the mayor and his brethren of their grace."[4] There was

[1] Oxf. Reg. ii. 296-7, 330. In 1529 a case went to arbitration of William Clare and Edmund Irishe, bailiffs of Oxford. Little's Grey Friars in Oxford, 93. For Coventry *v.* app.

[2] Little Red Book of Bristol, i. 86.

[3] Ricart, Calendar (Cam. Soc.), 41. He was probably of a leading Waterford family. Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 300, 331-2.

[4] Ricart, Mayor of Bristol's Calendar, 41 (Camden Soc.). This was the time when the corporations were turning the town governments into oligarchies.

1525. rioting at Bristol between inhabitants of the town and the retinue of Piers earl of Ormond, and 600 of them pressed upon his lodgings to burn the house while he was in bed in the night;[1] they were probably Irishmen, for Piers was travelling with money harshly exacted from his people to supplant Kildare, and to take the earldom of Ossory by a bad bargain with Henry. The Bristol Irish evidently remained faithful to the Fitzgerald house, for the Earl of Desmond,
1562. imprisoned in London, prayed to be sent at least to Bristol.[2]

But the chief resort of Irish merchants was
XII. cent. to the Continent. A hospital for the Irish in Genoa shows their presence there[3] before ever the English had settled in Ireland. When king
1388. John of Portugal built the great monastery of Batalha to commemorate his victory of Alcobaça, one of the two original master builders was Hacket an Irishman, called in the Portuguese records Houguet or Huet. Numbers of married
1387. Irishmen settled in the Netherlands and in Spain,

[1] C.S.P. 1525, 5. "The reason of the inhabitants of Bristol riotously attacking the Earl of Ormond's house at night was that, previously, they and the Earl's servants had been in conflict with one another, through the seeking and fault of the said inhabitants, of which the Earl was ignorant until afterwards, for otherwise he would have punished his servants, or delivered them to the officers of the town when demanded." S.P. Ireland, Hen. VIII. vol. i. No. 48 (Cal. 1526, p. 5).

[2] C.S.P. 1562, 204.

[3] Schultze, Geschich. Mittel-alterlichen Handels, 85.

and had free access and traffic there.[1] In the Spanish war with England, Philip ordered that the Irish traders should not be interfered with: they passed freely everywhere.[2] English traders in Lisbon pretended to be French to escape disturbance from war, but the Irish residents carried on commerce openly.[3] They were to be found throughout France.[4] Irishmen were in the guild-merchants of many European as well as English ports.[5] European culture was carried back to Ireland by her merchants abroad, and Irish scholars were supported on the Continent and Irish colleges endowed by these traders in foreign lands.

It has been commonly reported that the Irish, too idle or incompetent for trade, left the profits of their national industries to foreigners. But the names of many traders showed them of the race forbidden by the English, those "born of an Irish father and mother."[6] Galway was

[1] C.S.P. 1572, 469. *v.* app. [2] C.S.P. 1587, 439.

[3] C.S.P. 1585-6, 25; 1587, 423; 1588, 486-9.

[4] Car. ii. 250. [5] Kenny, Lect. Mediaeval Life in Ireland.

[6] Dr. Lynch describes the situation under James. "If the Irish do not renounce the Catholic faith, they are to have no share in the government of their country, which was won by the blood of their ancestors; none of them is ever made lord deputy, or chancellor, or attorney-general; none of them are raised to the bench or allowed to plead at the bar; the best benefices of the church are never given to the Irish, and in the army they cannot rise even to the rank of a sergeant. Admirable indeed must be their patient industry, when they bear up against such discouragements. Yet the bounteous

full of Irish traders.[1] The O'Craidhens were "rich and affluent merchants" in Sligo from
1506. father to son,[2] one of them in Donegal "a pious
1576. and conscientious" trader.[3] MacWilliam Oughter, ruler of a land where there was not one Englishman, had fifty householders[4] trading in Galway. Archbishop Creagh was the son of a wealthy Limerick merchant,[5] and was himself in his youth a trader and partner in a ship worth 9000 ducats; on a business journey to Spain he delayed too long at mass, and came out of church to find the ship which was to have brought him home had already sailed, and to see it sink at the mouth of the harbour; turning back to the altar he devoted himself to the religious life.[6] The O'Shaughnessys near Galway were very wealthy,[7] apparently from
1535. their Galway trade; Garrett MacShane, wrote an English official, "the which is a man that

grace of God has favoured them so, that many of them not only support their families independently, but have even amassed great riches. They do not murmur that foreigners of obscure origin have suddenly amassed enormous wealth, and are now parading their pomp and accumulated titles." Camb. Ev. iii. 71.

[1] *v.* p. 187.

[2] 4 M. 1657; C.S.P. 1591, 464.

[3] 4 M. p. 1287.

[4] Car. ii. 49.

[5] In 1547 an award was made between John Stacboll and James Creagh of Limerick concerning a carvell laden with wines to the number of six score butts. Cal. Pat. Rolls. i. 167.

[6] Shirley, Orig. Let. 170, 178, 287; Bellesheim, ii. 149.

[7] C.S.P. 1567, 340.

can speak never a word of English and made us very good cheer"; and twenty years later the Deputy camped at one of O'Shaughnessy's houses[1] and "dined so worshipfully as divers wondered at it, for the like was not seen in no Irishman's house": the conforming host ventured, it would seem, to display his wealth. The Roches traded from Kinsale;[2] and the Myaghs, the O'Heyns, the Murroughs, the Reilleys of Cork were as famed as the Blakes of Galway. Before the Desmond wars and the ruin of Munster James Myagh, citizen of Cork, represented that, being by profession a Merchant Adventurer,[3] he was very well able to live and maintain himself by his trade in transporting wines from beyond the seas, and this at a time when the English, in no favour with the Spaniards or unaccustomed to the trade, complained of their miserable state, begging their bread in Cork and 1580.
Kinsale.[4] No doubt John Olonye[5] was an Irishman, he who helped a merchant of Fécamp to take £600 of plunder from the English Nicholas St. John on the high seas; and John Brian of Ross, speculator in fish and wines.[6]

With this active trade a spirit of enterprise, of growing independence, and of proud hope was stirring over the land, insomuch that Henry 1501.

[1] Car. i. 76, 277.
[2] C.S.P. 1580, 226; 1583, 487.
[3] C.S.P. 1586, 93-4.
[4] C.S.P. 1580, 226.
[5] C.S.P. 1548, 80.
[6] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 330.

duke of York, being sent at eleven years old by his father Henry VII. with an army royal into that country to be lieutenant there, he found William de Burgo, O'Brien, MacNamara, O'Carroll, and certain others ready to make head against him. It was from very boyhood therefore that Henry VIII. in his "royal appetite" had determined to reduce "that realm to knowledge of God and obedience of Us," and by conquest cure "all the disease and infirmity of all this land," bring the wild Irish into civilization, and introduce for the first time, according to the invaders' fiction, tranquillity and restfulness, wealth and prosperity, to a savage people.[1]

1515. Some say, Henry was told, that all the noble folk of the land of Ireland, from the highest degree to the lowest, English or Irish, that used Irish customs, had liever to continue the same at their liberty, and bear the great danger of God and of their enemies, than to have all the land as well ordered as England, and as obedient to God, and to the King.[2] But "barbarism" was not tolerable to Englishmen. Pious prayers deplored it. "God with the beams of His grace clarify the eyes of that rude people, that at length they may see their miserable estate."[3]

[1] St. Pap. II. iii. 17, 31, 32. [2] St. Pap. II. iii. 16.
[3] Hol. vi. 69.

Mr. G. E. Hamilton has kindly sent me the following notes:

A Note on Irish "Aonachs."

For the whole subject see Mr. Goddard Orpen's paper in *Journal Roy. Soc. Antiquaries, Ireland*, 1906, p. 11, in which he shews that "Aonach Carmain" was held on the Curragh of Kildare, at the foot of Knockaulin, or Dún Aillinne, and not at Wexford.

To hold the *Aonach Carmain* was a prerogative of the King of Leinster ("Book of Rights," pp. 4, 14). It was a triennial festival, held on Lá Lughnasadh or 1st of August, and lasting seven days. It was apparently celebrated for the last time in A.D. 1079 (according to the Four Masters) by Conchobhar Ua Conchobhair Failghe, who was jointly with Domhnall Mac Murchadha (the father of Diarmuid na nGall) the 66th Christian King of Leinster; they were both slain in 1115 by Domhnall Ua Briain and the foreigners of Dublin after a reign of two years. (Mac Firbhisigh, Book of Genealogies, p. 428.) Aonach Carmain was also called Aonach Aillinne, Aonach Life, Aonach Curraigh, and Aonach nGubha or "Fair of Mourning."

It was the prerogative of the King of Tara to hold the *Aonach Tailltenn*, celebrated at Teltown in Meath on Lá Lughnasadh in every third year. This Aonach had the same importance for the men of Meath as had Aonach Carmain for the men of Leinster. Its last official celebration was in 1169 by Ruaidhri O Conchobhair, King of Ireland.

The *Aonach Muirtheimhne* was held on Lá Lughnasadh, probably at Tráigh Bhaile Mhic Bhuain, the modern "Seatown" or part of Dundalk next the strand.

Aonach Cruachan held at Rath Croghan in the Barony of Roscommon, most probably had the same importance for the King of Connacht; it is probably identical with the "Fair of Connacht."

Aonach Ailbhe "at which the men of Leinster were wont to bury" was perhaps held on the Hill of Ballon in the Barony of Forth O'Nolan, Co. Carlow. It was at any rate in Magh Ailbhe, the plain between the Barrow, Sliabh Mairge and the Wicklow Mountains.

Aonach Cholmáin where the men of Munster were buried, was held in the parish of Lann Eala or Lynally in the Barony of Ballycowan, King's County, about a mile to the south-east of Tullamore, in the ancient tuath of Feara Ceall, and province of Meath; this district was originally in Munster, from which it was taken by Tuathal Teachtmhar A.D. 130.

Aonach Cholmáin would appear to have been the original site of the Mór-Aonach of Munster, which was afterwards transferred to Aonach Teite, called in later times Aonach Urmhumhan ("the fair of Ormond") and now Nenagh (an Aonach) in Co. Tipperary.

Aonach Cholmáin then became merely a tribal assembly of the Feara Ceall under O'Maolmhuaidh or O'Molloy.

Aonach Cuile, also called Aonach Clochair, Aonach Beag, and Aonach Cairbre, was held at Monasteranenagh (Mainistir an Aonaigh) near Croom in the Barony of Pubblebrien, Co. Limerick.

An *Aonach Macha* is mentioned by the Four Masters A.M. 3579, it was probably held at Eamhain Macha.

Aonach Carmain was situate on the Slighe Dála or Bealach Mór Muighe Dála which led from Tara to Nenagh, it passed through Naas, crossed the Liffey at

Ath Garvan, traversed the Currach, and so led through the north of the Queen's County to Roscrea.

Aonach Tlachtga was celebrated at the Tlachtga or the Hill of Ward about two miles from Athboy in Meath. Tlachtga was situate in the ancient Munster.

Aonach Uisneach at Uisneach or the Hill of Usnagh in West Meath, in the ancient Connacht. *Aonach an Bhrogha* at Brugh na Bóinne, now New Grange on the Boyne.

So too the Uí Amhalgaidh, or people of the Barony of Tirawley, celebrated an Aonach every year at Carn Amhalgaidh, the carn of Amhalgaidh, son of Fiachra Ealgach, son of Dathi, son of Fiachra. This carn is near Killala in County Mayo.

These provincial Aonachs must originally have had a very intimate and close connection with the great "Feis Teamhrach" or "Festival of Tara" which was the national assembly held by the High-King of Ireland, the other Aonachs being merely provincial gatherings. The sites of these Aonachs are mostly near the great roads and only about 50 to 70 miles away from Tara in a straight line. In fact they are all much more conveniently situated to Tara than to their own provinces. While the official celebrations of some of these provincial Aonachs lasted until the 12th century, the last Feis Teamhrach was held in A.D. 560.

Although these Aonachs were primarily established for political and tribal reasons, it is probable that in the course of time their commercial importance increased while their political aspect vanished with the decay of the provincial kings, and that they survived as modern "fairs."

For a general description of what took place at these Aonachs see Joyce, Social History, ii. p. 438, et seq.

A Note on Irish Roads.

In the A. F. Masters of the year 123 A.D., there occurs the following passage.

"The first year of Conn Céadcathach as King over Ireland. The night of Conn's birth were discovered five principal roads (príomhróid) to Tara, which were never observed till then. These are their names: Slighe Asail, Slighe Miodhluachra, Slighe Cualann, Slighe Mór, Slighe Dála. Slighe Mór is that called Eiscir Riada, *i.e.* the division line of Ireland into two parts between Conn and Eoghan Mór."

This probably means that according to the tradition the building of these principal roads from Tara was completed by Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, King of Ireland, Conn's father. He died in the year 119 A.D.

Slighe Asail ran from Tara due west towards Lough Owel in West Meath: it divided the province of Meath into two equal parts, North and South. It crossed Magh Asail or Feara Asail which was that portion of the Barony of Moyashel and Magheradernon on the East of the River Brosna and of the town of Mullingar. It probably then turned in a north-westerly direction and ran to Rath Croghan.

Slighe Miodhluachra ran to Slane on the Boyne, then northwards through the Moyry Pass on the borders of Armagh and Louth, past Newtown-Hamilton to Eamhain Macha.

Slighe Cualann ran south-eastwards to Dublin, where it was called Bealach Duibhlinne, it followed the line of the Bóthar na gCloch (Stoney batter), crossing the Liffey by the ancient hurdle-bridge from which Dublin takes its Irish name of Baile Átha Cliath (Town of the Hurdle ford). This bridge, which was called Droichead Dubhghaill (The Dane's Bridge) in Brian Boroimhe's time,

occupied the site of the present Whitworth Bridge. The Slighe Cualann would then appear to have divided into two parts, one leading towards Bray through Baile an Bhóthair or Booterstown, the other by Dún Liamhna or the Hill of Lyons to Naas. It then crossed the Liffey again at Ath Garvan, passed by Dún Aillinne or Knockaulin, and ran by Bealach Mughna or Ballaghmoon in the south of Co. Kildare, towards Bealach Gabhráin or Gowran in Co. Kilkenny, here it was called Bealach an Fheadha Mhóir or Road of the Great Wood. Then it turned westwards across Ossory to Cashel.

Slighe Dála; this road apparently ran due south from Tara and joined the Slighe Cualann near Naas, it parted from it again near Dún Aillinne, turned westwards across the Curragh and ran through the North of the Queen's County to Roscrea in County Tipperary. Presumably it then led by Nenagh to Limerick.

The *Slighe Mór* led south-west from Tara until it joined the Eiscir Riada near Clonard, which it then followed to Galway. This Eiscir Riada is "a long, natural, wavy ridge formed of gravel, running almost across the whole county from Dublin to Galway. It was much celebrated in old times, and divided Ireland into two equal parts, Leath-Chuinn on Conn's Half, on the north, and Leath-Mhógha or Mogh's Half, namely Eoghan Mór's Half, on the South."

Thirty-seven other roads are mentioned by the Four Masters, but their lines cannot now be more than guessed at.

For the whole subject see Joyce, Social History, ii. 393 et seq., from which this note is mainly derived. There is also a good notice in O'Donovan's Introduction to the Book of Rights.

II.

IRISH INDUSTRIES.

We have seen the evidences of an extensive commerce round the entire coast of Ireland, and spreading thence over the whole of Europe. The imports were rich and various—iron, salt, silks and satins, cloth of gold and embroideries, carpets, wines and spices—all the luxuries of a wealthy country. Irish merchants of the towns were sailing their ships to the chief ports of Europe, and amassing substantial fortunes. At home they were building houses and improving the towns in a manner that befitted their standing. The country gentry were flocking into so promising a trade, and serving their time as apprentices to successful merchants, with agreements to be made free of the foreign commerce. Inland trade prospered with the traffic of frequent markets, the interchange of gold and silver and plate, and the "large tributes of money" given to Ireland by the commerce of European nations. The people who had some schooling naturally talked Latin, the language of their continental trade, for English would

have been of little use to them in commerce, and "the Irish is as wise as the Spaniard is proud," said an English observer.[1]

What then did Ireland send out to pay for the imports landed at her harbours?

There was no doubt a vast country trade in hides and skins of all kinds and meat, an early and an enduring industry. But this alone would neither have bought the foreign luxuries, nor exhausted the resources of Irishmen; and many other trades and manufactures were developed by their labour.

The country had much natural wealth. The people worked quarries for stone, and others famous for the variety and solidity of their marbles,[2] which they cut, polished, and exported. Presents 1566.
of stone for their buildings were sent to Cecil, Leicester, and Sir N. Bacon; and patterns of stone 1584.
sought for in Ireland to be sent to Barbary. The timber trade was very active; amid all the wars of Dublin with the O'Byrnes stacks of Wicklow timber were piled up on her quays,[3] laths and boards to make barrels "for the export of the

[1] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841. Payne, 13. *v.* app.

[2] "Of hewen stone the porch was fairly wrought,
Stone more of value, and more smooth and fine
Than jet or marble far from Ireland brought."
Fairy Queen, Book ii. Canto ix. (1590).

C.S.P. 1566, 290; 1580, 230; 1584, 519; Soc. of Ant., May 1859, 324. *v.* app.

[3] Cal. Dub. Rec. i. 13, 284-5. *v.* app.

inbred commodities,"[1] or to be sent away for shipbuilding or for herring-casks. There was also a finer trade. Irish wood was often cited in French lists of the fourteenth century as a specially choice wood[2] for furniture, painting, and sculpture; the holly, which grew to a great size, was probably used for painting; yew perhaps, as with the Greeks, for carving. Great oaks were felled in successive centuries for the roof
1200. of Westminster Hall, for the palace at White-
1700. hall, for the Dutch Stadthaus at Amsterdam.[3]

The coasts of Ireland were famous for their fisheries; large quantities of fish were exported along with other provisions. O'Sullivan, prince of Bear and Bantry, ruled over a people who lived by fishing, and had his native fleet:[4] when an English ship seized a Spanish fishing-vessel off the coast he manned a small squadron, brought both

[1] F. Moryson, p. 33; iii. 161; Piers' Desc. of Westmeath; C.S.P. 1568, 385; 1595, 306; H.M.C. Rep. x. app. v. 394-5; Hore, Town of Wexford, 157; export of timber was forbidden in Galway, 1579: H.M.C. Rep. x. app. v. 430. Irish casks and barrels were very cheap. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 7; Camb. Ev. ii. 113.

"A simple workman with a brake axe will cleave a great oak to boards of less than one inch thick, xiiii inches broad and xv foot in length." Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841; Payne, 6.

[2] Z.C.P. vi. 1907, 192-3.

[3] As late as 1760 Lord Hertford got £500 a year from the oak-woods of Ballinderry. Heterogenea, 214. For the woods of Glenconkine see Concise view of the Society of the new Plantation, called the Irish Society. B. ed. of 1842 by Vandercom, Saunders & Bond.

[4] C.S.P. 1587, 364; cf. Cormac, 29, Irish Arch. Soc. 1841. *v.* app.

ships to Bearhaven, hanged the English captain and set the other free.[1] Fishermen of Duncannon and Waterford carried their hake to France;[2] MacSweenys,[3] O'Briens, ÓMáilles fished in their own seas. Foreigners joined in a profitable trade. Devon and Cornwall sent fleets to Munster, and 50 English ships sailed yearly to Clew bay, paying rent to the ÓMáilles. Certain English merchants[4] in time of war took an Irish escort to carry "big packs of fish" from Athlone to Trim, Athboy, and Dublin, but were fallen on and slaughtered by the MacGeoghegans, "and no man living shall give account of the multitude of Eels lost or left therein, wherefore that defeat was called 'the defeat of the fish.'" Three thousand Englishmen, they boasted, gathered to the fishing off Carlingford.[5] The most dangerous foreign rivals of the English were the Spaniards, great fishers along the southern coast; they viewed with jealousy this Continental trade with the wealth it brought to Irishmen, and passed an act to forbid any strangers from fishing on the Irish shores without license;[6] while to encourage the English trade another act forbade any exactions of money or shares of fish from merchants or fishermen going to Ireland and other places

1452.

1535.

1465.

1548.

[1] Gibson's Cork, ii. 36.
[2] C.S.P. 1590, 291.
[3] C.S.P. 1569, 405.
[4] 4 M. 985 n.
[5] Car. i. 85.
[6] Ir. St. 5th Ed. IV. c. 6.

commodious for fishing.[1] But statutes were vain against an ancient and thriving commerce,
1569. and a century later at least six hundred Spanish ships, besides others, sailed to Ireland every year for fishing alone. Two or three hundred used to fish off MacCarthy's coast, lying in his harbour of Valencia,—a harbour much coveted by Henry VIII.
1569. —and carried away 2000 beeves, hides, and tallow, paying no dues to the queen but leaving coin for Irish traders.[2] Besides the sea-fishing there was a large export of salmon and eels carried in trading ships from the river fisheries,[3] then of great value and strictly regulated; no swine allowed on the strand of rivers from March to October, and no flax to be steeped there for the linen yarn.[4]

The laws that forbid the steeping of flax recall one of the most famous of Irish industries.

The spirit of Irish civilisation was finely expressed in their old proverb of the "three slender things that best support the world:[5] the slender stream of milk into the pail, the slender

[1] Hakluyt, viii. 8.

[2] C.S.P. 1569, 405; Car. i. 439; ib. 209.

[3] In 1608 a Dublin merchant Henry Quinn wrote that he had abandoned the business of purchasing yarn and sending it to Manchester, the trade having decayed from the long civil war, and had taken instead to the trade of fishing in the Bann. In Pennant's time 320 tons of salmon were taken from the Bann in one year. Ulster Arch. J., ii. p. 149.

[4] Tuckey's Cork, 31; Ir. St. 1569.

[5] Triads. Kuno Meyer.

blade of green corn upon the ground, the slender thread over the hand of a skilled woman." Linen, as we see by the trade lists, was sold on the stalls of every Irish market, and was carried abroad; and flax was grown in every part of Ireland from north to south. "Foreign writers attest the great abundance of linen in Ireland. 'Ireland,'[1] they say, 'abounds in lint which the natives spin into thread, and export in enormous quantities to foreign nations. In former ages they manufactured very extensively linen cloths, the greater portion of which was absorbed by the home consumption, as the natives allowed thirty or more yards for a single cloak, which was wound or tied up in flowing folds. The sleeves also were very capacious, extending down to the knees. But these had gone nearly out of fashion[2] in 1566.' Need I mention the common linen covering which the women wear in several wreaths on their heads, or the hoods used by others; for a woman was never seen without either the veil or a hood on her head, except the unmarried, whose long ringlets were tastefully bound up in knots, or wreathed around the head and interwoven with some bright-coloured ribband. If to these we add the linens for the altar, the cloths for the table, the various linen robes of the priests, and the shrouds which

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 169. *v.* app.

[2] Forbidden by Statute in 1539; *v.* Campion, cap. vi.

were wrapped around the dead,[1] there must have been a great abundance of linen in Ireland. We read of St. Brighid that 'she spun and wove with her own hands the linen cloths which were wrapped around St. Patrick's sacred remains.'"

1539. The Act of Henry VIII. which forbade any
1569. shirt to be made of more than seven yards of linen, Elizabeth's Act which forbade the laying of hemp or flax on any running stream, the repeated orders[2] that neither flax nor linen yarn
1550. should be carried out of Ireland, show the extent
1569. of the industry and of the cultivation of flax. Charged by the English, among other vices, with an extravagant use of linen in their dress,
1336. they nevertheless provided for foreign markets,
1437. exporting linen cloth and faldings[3] to Chester, the Netherlands, and Italy. Even as late as 1592, when Connacht had been brought to its lowest misery, we still find traces of the old trade—merchants from Galway making their circuits in the country to buy from the rich their store of horses and cattle, and from the cottages of the poor their linen cloth and yarn.[4] "The women are all naturally bred to spinning," said Strafford.[5] The excessive competition, the

[1] After the Armada the women of Galway wrapped the Spanish dead in fine linen.

[2] C.S.P. 1550, 108; Ir. Stat. 1569.

[3] Libel of Eng. Pol. Rolls Series; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 290; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 15.

[4] C.S.P. 1592, 563. [5] Letters (Dub. 1740), ii. 19.

extravagant profits, of English nobles and officials in licenses to transport linen yarn from Ireland in Elizabeth's reign, show not only the extent of the cultivation of flax but the magnitude of the linen manufacture which they had destroyed.[1]

The linen trade in fact rivalled the woollen manufacture. In old time tribute was paid to kings of mantles green and blue and variegated and purple of fine brilliance, cloaks of strength and cloaks of fine texture,[2] and Irish skill in weaving never failed.[3] "Three excellencies of dress," they said, "elegance, comfort, lastingness."[4] Every market in Ireland had for sale Irish cloth of all colours, and cloaks. The book of Lismore tells of linen and woollen shirts, and serge, along with silk and satin.[5] An Elizabethan governor[6] in Connacht prayed to have the livery money of the soldiers spent in Irish manufactures to clothe them there with frieze and mantles, both

x. cent.

xiii. cent.

xv. cent.

[1] Dr. Kuno Meyer (Gael. Journ.) gives a list of fanciful names of women, referring to spinning etc., which occur in the tale called *Airec menman Uraird maic Coise*, preserved in the Rawlinson MS. B. 512, Oxford fol. 111a, 14-15th cent., but of much older origin. Anecdota, ii. 56.

[2] Book of Rights, Rev. Celt. v. 71; Cormac's Poem, Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, p. 49.

[3] Tr. Rel. to Irel. Kilk. St. 21 n. [4] Triads, K. Meyer.

[5] Stokes, Lismore Lives, xcix. For Kilkenny see C.S.P. 1548, 90; *v.* Waterford, Galway and Dublin, Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 267, 289, 394; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 9, 15.

[6] Car. ii. 311.

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to bed them in the night and for warmth. The mantle, linen cloth, frieze, and brogue of Ireland would serve the soldier well,[1] wrote another official, and in fact Irish cloaks, brogues, and
1560-1599. stockings were supplied to the troops instead of English clothing.

x. cent. Centuries before the Norman invasion Irish traders were known as far as Cambridge bringing woollen cloaks for sale;[2] for hundreds of
1200. years they sold in the English markets friezes
1600. and serges, cloth white and red, russet and
1290. green. It was carried to Chester, to Here-
1378. ford, to Gloucester and Bristol, to Winchester and Southampton, to Coventry, to Canter-
1382. bury. The Pope's Collector was given special permission to carry away with him free of duty mantles of Irish cloth.[3] A Limerick cloak or
1558. a blue Galway mantle was a worthy gift from one great minister of Elizabeth's court to another,[4] and Sir T. Heneage building a new house wrote for a dozen of the finest and lightest Irish rugs that can be got to lay upon beds.[5] Spanish wool was imported for the best fabrics.[6] The fine Irish

[1] C.S.P. 1581, 309; 1585, cxxii.; 1595, 406; Car. i. 294; O'Grady, Cat. 452.

[2] Liber Eliensis, 148.

[3] *v.* Hakluyt; Kunze, 144-5; Town Life, Green, i. 173-4; ii. 41, 42, 206, 289; Rym. vii. 356; Madox, Hist. of Excheq. i. 550; Anderson's Commerce, i. 204, 280. *v.* app.

[4] C.S.P. 1558, 39, 516; St. Pap. II. iii. 159. *v.* app.

[5] Car. 1590, 47.

[6] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 290.

sense of colour[1] had made their dyes renowned. Much madder was grown for the trade,[2] and woad, which was objected to in England as poison to cattle, was allowed in Ireland and seems to have been planted or sown there.[3] Other traditional dyes were handed down, and Catalonian manufacturers[4] who rivalled the skill of the Florentines, sought the secret of the Irish colours, as well as of their fabrics. We hear of an English adventurer who journeyed to Connacht to find "the wood wherewith black may be dyed"—a journey on which he was probably sent to divert him from the real secret of the dyers.[5]

But the fame of the Irish fabrics reached far beyond England. Fine Irish "saia" or serge was

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 495.

[2] C.S.P. 1567, 338, 340; 4 M. p. 1703 n. Madder is a native of the south of Europe. About the end of the 17th century, the British paid to the Dutch £60,000 annually for madder. The price increased afterwards; and several people attempted its cultivation in England (Miller's Gardeners' Dict.). In times of peace the price fell, and it did not pay to cultivate it in England, as the imported was cheaper than the home-grown. Lawson, Agriculturist's Manual, 302 (1836).

[3] C.S.P. 1585, 555, 560, 562; 1586, 35, 60; 1587, 275. The English proved bad planters of woad. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 6.

[4] Macph. i. 562, 655. "En el vando que en 1420 se publico en Barcelona sobre el derecho de *bolla* se especifican los paños, cadines, fustanes, sargas, sarguillas, estameñas, telillas, drapa, saya de Irlanda, chamelotes de Reims, ostendes, y otras ropas flamencas. Todos estos generos estrangeros fueron imitados luego en Cateluña." Capmany, Memorias Historicas de Barcelona, part ii. 242.

[5] C.S.P. 1584, 512, 519; O'Curry, Anc. Ire. I. ccccv.

XIII. cent. used in Naples as trimming for the robes of the king and queen.[1] "Saia d'Irlanda" was known
1315. 1324. in Bologna,[2] in Genoa, in Como,[3] in Florence:
1400. Ireland was a country worthy of renown, they said, for the beautiful serge it sent them.[4] It cost
1343. 5s. 5¼d. an ell in that city of the finest woollen-weavers of the world, where the masters of the art were great and honoured citizens, and was used by the Florentine women[5] accustomed to the utmost luxury of dress. It was famous in southern

[1] "Sergie de Irlanda de quibus forcha fuerunt diversa guarnimenta robbarum ad opus regium et domine Sanchie regine, consertis nostre" (G. Yver, Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale, p. 92 (Paris, 1903)).

[2] Frati, Vita Privata di Bologna, 32. "Ed insieme alle mode vennero importate anche le stoffe forestiere. Nei processi criminali del xiv secolo si trovano spesso ricordati furti di vesti di panno azzurrino di Francia foderate di vaio; di saia d'Irlanda di colore azzurro con fibbiette dorate, o di panno ceruleo *de Lilia*." 1315. 1324.

[3] Schultze, Geschich. Mittel-alter. Handels, 702.

[4] "Similimente passamo en Irlanda,
La qual fra noi e degna de Fama
Per le nobile Saie che ci monda."
(Ditta Mundi, Fazio degli Uberti, cap. xxvi. lib. iv.)

"Questa Gente, benche mostra selvagia,
E per gli monti la contrada accierba,
Nondimeno l'e dolcie ad cui l'asaggia."
(Ditta Mundi.)

Fazio degli Uberti probably visited Ireland:
"Qui *vid*' *io* di più natura Laghi."
(Charlemont, Transactions of R. Irish Academy, 1787.)

[5] "Per un pezza di Saia d'Irlanda per vestir della moglie d'Andrea" (Old Florentine acc. bk. in Dizion. della Crusca: see Napier, ii. 593).

Spain. Irish friezes found a good market in France.[1] They passed up the Rhine; Richard II. gave leave to a Cologne merchant to export 1378.
Irish cloth.[2] At Bruges and Antwerp,[3] and the 1265.
Irish establishments in the Brabant fairs, the Irish sold both a low-priced cloth and the famous serges, Irish cloaks, and linen sheets. The trade was so large that when foreign cloth was forbidden a clamour arose from all the poor in 1497.
the Netherlands to be allowed still to buy the cheap cloth and linen, Irish cloaks and Scot kerseys; and archduke Philip gave orders that these cloths from Ireland and Scotland and elsewhere should be freely sold as before by the strangers frequenting the country and occupied in the trade. Cloaks were sold, the large at 45, the small at 20 sols, and frieze at 3 sols a yard. To preserve their manufacture the Irish forbade the carrying of flax or wool into England: only "Lords, Prelates, and of the Privy Council may take flock beds under the weight of 3 stone with them to use for their ease in their passage."[4]

[1] Tour of M. de la Boullaye le Gouz. Ed. Crofton Croker, 1837. *v.* app.

[2] Hanzeakten aus England, Kunze, 144.

[3] Gilliodts van Severen, Cart. Bruges, ii. 90, 314; iii. 35, 52, 154, 276; *v.* p. 13; Guicciardini, Descr. of Netherlands, quoted by Macph. ii. 131 *v.* app.

[4] Ir. St. 13th H. VIII. c. 2; 28th H. VIII. c. 17; 11th Eliz. c. x.; 13th Eliz. c. 2. *v.* app.

The leather of Ireland[1] was well known too in France, Flanders, Bruges, in England and Scotland. Belts and straps for spurs, no doubt finely ornamented, were gifts fit for a poet's
1100. reward,[2] and a French hero in a novel of the twelfth century wore a belt of Irish leather.[3]
1354. Irishmen were allowed by statute of Edward III. to bring their leather to the staple towns of England,[4] Wales, and Scotland, and must have shown too great enterprise in the trade during the next 200 years, which Elizabeth checked by
1569. laws to limit the places for tanning. They made gloves, and a large variety of shoes shown in the markets; rich shoes exquisitely finished and ornamented were common in early Ireland,[5] and Spenser noted that the Irish knight of his day affected "costly cordwainery." The Waterford shoemakers were formed into a brotherhood
1485. under Irish leaders, John Poer, Teigue Breack, and Thomas Flwyn.[6] In Galway church we may still see the beautiful Celtic cross graven on a tomb that preserves the memory of a shoe-maker of that town.

It must be remembered that whatever was

[1] *v.* app.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 435. [3] C.Z.P. vi. 1907, pp. 192-3.

[4] Eng. St. 27th Ed. III. c. 18; Ir. St. 11th Eliz. c. 2.

[5] Wilde's Catalogue Roy. I. Acad. quoted by Joyce, ii. 217-220; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 128.

[6] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 320.

the fame or ardour of the Irish in military adventure, they never neglected the artist or fine craftsman, nor placed the soldier above him; master craftsmen held a position equal to the lesser nobles, and their names were handed down with honour. "Tuileagna O'Moelchonaire, a scholar profoundly versed in Irish histories and laws, has informed me by letter," wrote Dr. Lynch, "that special tribunals were established in Ireland for adjudicating on all causes arising from the exercise of mechanical arts. A master was appointed for each art, who was bound to indemnify the purchaser for any damage arising from the ignorance or fraud of the mechanic."[1] The workers asked high wages, as we see by the prices paid to fullers, coopers, and other craftsmen in Limerick:[2] it was ordered in Galway[3] that no carpenter or mason should 1526.
have more than 2d. a day for his hire, with his meat and drink.

The best hands in the world, after an Irish saying, were the hand of a good carpenter, the hand of a skilled woman, the hand of a good smith.[4] We have seen the hand of the skilled woman in weaving. The carpenter was judged

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 193. [2] Arthur MS. Brit. Mus.

[3] Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 384; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 401; *v.* Waterford, ib. 322. Soldiers were paid 8d. a day and had to feed and provide themselves. Car. i. 379; ii. 46. *v.* app.

[4] Triads, K. Meyer.

by the proverbial tests, "joining together without calculating (?), without warping (?); agility with the compass; a well-measured stroke."[1] They built ships, both before the Norman settlement and in later centuries,[2] and wrought much beautiful work famous in its day. How often in the ruins of once noble Irish churches we find the stone that commemorates a carpenter, perhaps a race of workmen,[3] marked with compass and hammer: we may there give our homage to skilled artists such as those who in the twelfth century covered the chiselled stone cathedral of Armagh with a roof of oak shingles, and adorned its arches with festoons of grapes carved in red yew and coloured;[4] or made the "variegated door"[5] (perhaps of inlaid woods) of Turrain Castle near Athlone, which was so admired by
1536. its captors that they carried it away to set up
1531. in Sligo; or who at Lough Allen constructed the finest wooden house in all Ireland,[6] rich no doubt in carvings. John Lawles, organ-maker
1476. in Kilkenny,[7] was in the old Irish fashion given

[1] Triads, K. Meyer. [2] *v.* app. [3] Soc. of Ant., 1852, 90.

[4] O'Curry, iii. 58. See account given in 1689 of the roof of the Augustinian abbey at Waterford. "The boards on which the vault was turned still remain entire though much exposed to wet, which shews the durability of our Irish oak, they being but half inch planks, and the building above 400 years erected." Smith's Waterford, 89.

[5] 4 M. 1435. [6] 4 M. 1401.

[7] Soc. of Ant., Oct. 1873, 542-3. Galway Organs and Bells, Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 51.

a farm as his wage to live and carry on his craft in the town.

The smiths had the blessing of an Irish saint since the day the seven master-smiths[1] made for St. Findchu the seven iron sickles on which he purposed to kneel for seven years until he should get a place in heaven, having in his charity given away his original place to the king of the Deisies. "He then blessed the smiths of that place, and left them the gift of handiness, viz. the gift of ornamenting for ever and the gift of being professors of it, but so that it would be in that town they would begin or finish it." And the smiths requested of him in reward of their work to call the town by their name, Bri Gobhann, the Hill of the Smiths.[2] Skilled artificers were known by "weaving chains, a mosaic ball, an edge upon a blade."[3] Iron was XIII. cent imported for their work, and "sheaves of steel." Fermanagh was the centre where the best engines XV. cent of war were constructed. "The Irish are in this age," wrote a Baron of the Exchequer in Dublin,

[1] Soc. of Ant., 1902, 375.

[2] Now Brigown, a village near Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.

[3] Triads, K. Meyer.

"Robin pulled forth an *Irish knife*,
And knicked Sir Guy in the face"

(from the ballad of "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne." Presumably written circa 1500. Percy in his Reliques says that "it carries marks of much greater antiquity than any of the common popular songs on this subject").

1515. "become more politic, and have more use of ammunition and artillery than either before the
1487. conquest or long time after."[1] The first gun we read of in Ireland was in the hands of an O'Donnell, son of Hugh O'Donnell the
1516. Anglicised. A French knight gave great guns
1555. to Hugh O'Donnell, and his son Calvagh had a gun from Scotland "Gonna-Cam," the Crooked Gun or Tormentum Curvum. The O'Carrolls possessed cannons called falcons.[2] Castlemore in Mayo had "every kind of engines, . . . such as cannon and all sorts of weapons,"[3] and O'Brien, lord of Thomond, fortified his bridge with "a piece of iron which shot bullets
1507. as big as a man's head," and other guns of many kinds. The forts of O'Conor Faly,[4] especially Dengen, his "castle of most assurance," were well
1537. victualled, well ordnanced, and well-manned; and his gunners "so good marksmen as that few spake after they shot them either with handgun or with any other piece of ordnance." Much Irish ordnance was bought in the foreign trade, but some of their guns may have been the work of Irish craftsmen from the Spanish iron which was imported at every Irish harbour.[5] O'Conor's

[1] Car. i. 5. [2] 4 M. 1149-51, 1335, 1541, 1409.

[3] 4 M. p. 1391. Galway cannons, Misc. Ir. Arch. 1846, i. 50.

[4] Car. i. 124; Richey, Lect. Ir. Hist. ii. 19.

[5] In 1688 the bell of Benburb was cast in Limerick by Matthew MacMahon. It seems likely that this was a survival of an older industry.

neighbour MacGillapatrick of Ossory had set an iron grate[1] in his castle at Coolcill, which 1517.
was forcibly carried off by Sir Piers Butler and placed in the new stone gateway of Kilkenny, when cannon were made and hauberks bought for the defence of the town.

The masons added their skill. The Irish had long been great builders, as we may see from the round towers alone, and from ruins of ancient churches. The tower of Clonmacnoise 1124.
was built under Turlough O'Conor, and his son Roderick raised a stone castle at Tuam, known 1161.
as the "wonderful castle."[2] The imposing ruin of Shanid Castle of the Desmonds shows how fine was the Norman-Irish work of later times, and there is a list in Irish of 124 castles, that is to say, "piles" or "peels," in County Clare, with the names of their Irish owners and builders.[3] A Spanish envoy reported that Desmond had ten 1530.
strong and well-built castles of his own, especially Dungarvan which the English king had ever failed to take.[4] English deputies were amazed at the fortifications of O'Brien's Bridge, with fortresses at either end "edified after the manner 1506.
of block-houses . . . strongly builded in such wise that neither one culverin nor yet six falcons and a sacre of brass could very scarcely

[1] Soc. of Ant., Jan. 1880, 237.

[2] *v.* app.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 68-75. *v.* app.

[4] Froude's Pilgrim, 173.

perish them, but at certain lopes, and that was very little." Castles of hewn marble were built on each side in the water by the fourth arch of the bridge, with walls 12 or 13 feet thick, and well defended with "such fortifications of timber and hogsheads of earth as the like have not been seen in this land." After deputy Sentleger with his ordnance, "and great travail
1536. and labour of poor men," had partly ruined
1538. O'Brien's great work, Lord Leonard Grey "came to the same bridge, where was re-edified one of the castles, and the other builded strongly 15 or 16 foot high above the water, and 7 arches of the said bridge, which I brake down, both castle and bridge, hand-smooth."[1] It is no wonder that Elizabeth, anxious about her
1561. border fastnesses against the Scots, fetched over three hundred good and fit masons from Ireland for the Berwick fortifications, and more "hard-hewers" followed later.[2] We need a full study of mediaeval architecture in Ireland, where the country is covered with ruins of admirable design, perfect in workmanship and decoration. The traveller may select either of the great periods of the Irish revival, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, after the Danish invasion, or the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, after the

[1] 4 M. p. 1289; Richey, ii. 89-90; Haverty, 356; Car. i. 104, 146.

[2] C.S.P. 1561, 162-166. *v.* app.

Norman; he may journey in "mere Irish" districts, or in those where the Normans settled; he may visit Clonmacnois or Limerick, Tuam or Galway, Ballintober, Boyle, Sligo, Burrishoole, Creavlea, Fore, or countless other sites—everywhere he will find noble work done by native hands, and stamped with the fine skill and art of Irish builders.[1]

Nor had the Irish goldsmith lost his cunning. The churches held their finest treasures. The four richest goblets[2] in Ireland were at the Temple More of Derry: one called Mac Riabac 1197
(worth 60 cows); a second called the goblet of O'Maoldoraidh; and the goblet of O'Doherty, Cam-chopán (crooked goblet). There was the marvellous Cross of Cong, and the holy Columcille's cross,[3] stolen by Perrot in 1584, which was probably like the Cross of Cong cased in metal and adorned with crystal bosses. Wonderful jewels enriched the great church of Clonmacnois 1129.

[1] In the 14th century S. Canice of Kilkenny had superb glass windows of which fragments survive. Two hundred years later the legate Rinuccini offered £700 for the splendid east window. Cromwell in 1650 wrecked the place utterly, taking away the five great and goodly bells, broke the windows and carried away the costly glass. Hist. of S. Canice, 42. In 1408 MacGilmore plundered the Franciscan church at Carrickfergus and carried away the iron bars of the windows, which it would seem held glass. Archdall's Monasticon, i. 5. I do not know if there was any manufacture of glass in Ireland. *v.* Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 265-6. For Waterford *v.* ib. 318.

[2] Soc. of Ant., 1863, 389. [3] C.S.P. 1584, 530. *v.* app.

—silver chalices and goblets burnished with gold and engraved, and a model of Solomon's Temple.[1] But there was a wealth of treasure also in the houses of the chiefs. From old time the Irish chiefs delighted in fine metal work : "A covetous, unconscientious man was Feradach, King of Ossory. And if he heard of only one scruple of gold or of silver in the hands of anyone in his country, it would be brought perforce to him and put in ornaments of horns and goblets and swords and draftboards."[2] Every lord had his artificers in gold and silver finishing his cups of wood and horn with fine metal work. There was in every chief's house the sheen of goblets held high[3] when ale was quaffed "from golden goblets and from beakers of horn," and the trophies ranged of victory—the great goblets taken from the battle fields, some standing a fist higher than the rest, in which their enemies had drunk the wines of France. A mazer captured from Sorley Boy was garnished with silver gilt and his arms graven in the bottom ; and the O'Neill armies went out to war carrying rich and beautiful mazers and cups and wine-
1522. vessels.[4] The goldsmith's work was seen in their armour, in the gold spurs such as Sir Owen O'Gallagher wore, in the trappings of the horses,

[1] 4 M. p. 1033. [2] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 307.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 424, 431, 433, 353 ; *v.* Cellachan of Cashel, Bugge, 76.

[4] 4 M. 1361, 1653.

the gilt bridles, peytrels or small chains hung on the chests of war-horses, and other harness,[1] which an Act of Parliament sought to restrict to knights and prelates. Poets told of the gilt-bridled horses, the dazzling glitter in the chief's house of "compact and close and glittering mail," of "well-knit flashing armature";[2] the gilt armour of James FitzMaurice was in charge of Owen Sullivan and was given by his wife to Captain Apsley.[3] 1447. 1580.

It is certain that vast quantities of gold and silver were stored up in the towns and in the lords' houses—rich stuffs, precious goods, jewels and cups and ornamented goblets.[4] Under mediaeval laws no goldsmith's work could be openly carried to Europe, but we know that it was certainly exported from the time of Edward I. to Henry VII.;[5] and later still 1299. 1504.

[1] 25th H. VI. c. 6. "O'Spelan of the golden spurs." Hy-Fiachrach, 251.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 376, 433; 4 M. 1427.

[3] In 1420 Blake bequeathed to his two sons two coats of mail, two iron shoulder-plates, and two helmets. Blake, Family Records, i. 18.

[4] See the great presents MacQuillan gave to O'Donnell, horses, armour, and other beautiful articles of value, 1542. 4 M. p. 1471. And the wealth of O'Neill's camp—mead, wine, rich clothing, arms, coats of mail, "and all other necessaries," 1557. 4 M. p. 1551, 1559. "A beautiful present of dress." Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Cormac, 39; "coloured mantles for every chieftain, ib. 35. "Munster of the great riches." Cellachan of Cashel, Bugge, 98. *v.* app

[5] Berry, Stat. 225; Ir. St. 1447; Eng. St. 19th H. VII. c. 5.

1549. one Francis Digby, very shrewd in exploiting Irish resources, "useth for his private commodity[1] to bring over halfpence and receives plate for the same," so that a new proclamation was made against buying plate. English deputies and officials describe the Irish houses as bare and sordid: they may have had good reasons for their prudence. No officer, bitterly complaining of his lot and praying for grants or a pension, could have wished to advertise his chances of "loot" from the enemy. And it is certain that precious plate and vases were not willingly displayed on the table when rough plenty of food was set out with a forced show of welcome for English officers and soldiers on their pillaging journeys. They carried with them the right of torture, and freely used it in the search for Spanish treasure after the Armada: did it ever serve to discover Irish heirlooms for the hungry deputy, the president, the provost marshal, or the unpaid and starving captains and soldiers? We know at least that in the raids and visitations of the invaders, chieftain or merchant hid his rich dresses, his arms and coats of mail,[2] and "beautiful articles of value," jewelled cups and vessels of copper, brass, and gold, which in those days of terror "the father would not have acknowledged to his heir or the mother to her daughter."

[1] C.S.P. 1549, 99. [2] 4 M. 1559, 1471, 1653.

The natural riches of Ireland, "their own most delightful and beloved country,"[1] had been garnered and her commerce widened by the labour of her people. Frequent Acts forbidding them to send bullion or plate or coin abroad show that the Irish had gold and silver to pay for goods bought in foreign markets.[2] Their wealth can be traced in the coin current in MacCarthy's land,[3] in the considerable money rents paid on the Desmond estates (valued at over £7000 a year),[4] in the store of Spanish silver and gold[5] used by the Irish, and in the treasures of the Irish lords or the golden cups and chains that made the dower of a merchant's daughter.[6] When Youghal gave itself up to Desmond's army it was full of riches and goods,[7] besides gold and silver which the merchants and burgesses sent away in ships before the town was taken: "many a poor indigent person became rich and affluent by the spoils of this town." The spoils on John Fitz-Edmund of Cloyne[8] amounted to £6157. A great Irish landowner, James fifth earl of Ormond, left in his house at Blackfriars £40,000 in gold besides his plate. In the north, the Old Lady of Kildare[9] had

1299-1504.

1547.

1581.

1452-62

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 43.

[2] Berry, Stat. 215, 225, 237, 239, 251; Ir. St. 25th H. VI.; 35th H. VI.; 19th H. VII.

[3] C.S.P. 1569, 405.

[4] C.S.P. 1586, 230.

[5] Car. ii. 415.

[6] Hard. Gal. 82.

[7] 4 M. 1723.

[8] C.S.P. 1581, 305.

[9] C.S.P. 1592, 490.

£1000 and more out of one barony in Clan-
1552. naboy. The Earl of Tyrone had laid up at Dungannon £800 of gold and silver, besides plate and other stuff.[1] When the town traders were ordered to pay an impost on wines to the English queen, their excitement showed the
1570. magnitude of their interests: "I might have had," said Sidney, "£2000 in gold to have opposed the Act respecting the custom for wines."[2] Irish treasure was lavishly offered to save their
1577. heroes from English prison or death—£300 for
1581. the rescue of Murrough O'Brien, £1000 for the life of Turlough O'Brien, £2000 for the freedom of Hugh O'Donnell,[3] and so on. It became a recognised part of English policy to drain the Irish bare of their accumulated store. Who can measure the vast prices paid for yearly "pardons" and "protections" of the chiefs, for the keeping of their pledges, and the Protestant training of their Catholic sons?[4] We might take instances from the province reputed the poorest

[1] C.S.P. 1552, 126; cf. C.S.P. 1579, xiv. [2] Car. ii. 350.

[3] Bagwell, ii. 338; C.S.P. 1581, 308; 1589, 165. There is great difficulty in calculating the value of these sums. In the first half of the century beeves had been worth 6s. 8d., sheep 1s., pigs 3s., chickens ¾d. But Elizabeth's wars and devastations had increased prices by two or three times. For later prices cf. Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne's Descr. Irel. And her coinage policy was planned to keep Ireland bare of money. These sums represent therefore a surprising treasure stored. Car. ii. 58-9. See pp. 90, 146.

[4] See ch. xi.

in Ireland. The chiefs of Connacht lay under forfeit of £10,000 recognisances to the President.[1] 1577. Six thousand pounds was Clanrickard's fine for 1579. the destruction of Athenry.[2] The Galway people 1576. were taxed £2000, and a bond taken of £5000 of lord Clanrickard to see this performed.[3] A lord Bourke spent over £1000 in suit for his title besides the money paid for his education 1593. in Oxford.[4] President Bingham calculated the revenue from Connacht at £4000[5] over and above the ancient revenue and impost, besides a good sum in fines, and to these sums he added £2000 in preys and booties[6]—this in a time of ruined trade, when the imposts of Galway had fallen to nothing and no wine any longer came there.[7] Sir Owen MacCarthy and his country of Carbery, in furtherance of her majesty's service, paid in money and cattle 1579-83 in three years £7500.[8]

It was indeed the wealth and not the poverty of the people of Ireland that had drawn the invaders to her pillage. Official life held rich

[1] Car. ii. 155. [2] C.S.P. 1579, 170.

[3] C.S.P. 1574, p. 37; Sid. Letters, 106; Car. ii. 50.

[4] C.S.P. 1593, 74.

[5] C.S.P. 1586, 207; 1587, 382.

[6] C.S.P. 1586, 394, 184. The revenues of the twelve monasteries founded by O'Conor in Connacht were reported sufficient to maintain each of them the dignity and family of an earl or marquis. Camb. Ev. iii. 309, 321.

[7] C.S.P. 1586, 22. [8] MacCarthy's Life, 19.

rewards. "No man could imagine in what an inconceivably short time the scriveners in the courts of justice in Dublin have scraped together enormous properties. It is not by inches, but by cubits, to use a common phrase, that they ascend to wealth."[1] The governorship of Ireland was considered by Elizabeth a chief place of profit under her crown. When Sidney came to Hampton Court with two hundred gentlemen in his train, it happened that the queen was looking out of the window, and was surprised thereat until she was told it was the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and then she replied *it was well enough for he had two of the best offices in the kingdom*.[2] "Now he shall be envied more than ever he was!" cried Perrot's brother at his appointment.[3] Elizabeth's lieutenants and those of Henry VIII. did not journey there to make a trade in raw hides, or take their pillage of naked savages living in caves, nor even of a people who had attained the level of Hottentots and Zulus. The hardships they endured were paid with a richer spoil.[4]

[1] Camb. Ev. iii. 71, 177. "Swarms of foreigners, swept into the country from time to time, who never did any service to the Irish, but devoted all their energies to ruin them without resource, and amassed enormous properties for themselves by the plunder of their fellow-subjects." Ib. i. 69-71. The Irish of English descent protested in 1314, that all the honours and wealth of their native land were monopolised by successive hordes of Englishmen, who came over to Ireland to glut their rapacity. Ib. iii. 177. *v.* Moran's Archbishops, 93.

[2] Memoirs of the Sidneys, Collins, 1746, i. 88.

[3] Perrot's Life, 137.

[4] *v.* app.

There have been three periods in which Ireland has poured out her people over the sea. The great and singular missionary movement, when for 500 years Irishmen were dispersed over England and the Continent in the cause of religion and learning, has been to some extent studied by historians. With the spread of Christianity the missionary work came to a natural close: Irish scholars still studied and taught in the Universities of Europe, but there was a new dispersion, of which the records have not been sought out nor the history written, when for some 500 years Irish merchants wandered over Europe, taking a peaceable part in the new progress of manufactures and international trade. These movements had enriched the land from which they sprung: they had broadened its culture and its wealth. But the violent suppression of Irish commerce and industry under Elizabeth opened a last phase of emigration—the dispersion of a people outlawed and exiled, whose hopeless banishment could only herald the death of their country. The lament of the first great exile has been the prophetic story of his race in its later days:

600-1100.

1100-1600.

> "There is a grey eye
> That looks back upon Ireland,
> It will never see afterwards
> Ireland's men, nor her women."[1]

[1] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 310.

III.

COUNTRY LIFE.

Some of the natural resources of Ireland were so considerable and so remarkable that they have been commonly spoken of as forming its whole wealth—a wealth to be gathered without toil by the easy methods of the chase and of open pasture. According to this theory nomadic tribes of herdsmen and hunters, unskilled, disorderly, and incapable of political organisation, were encouraged by the fertility of their soil and cattle to persevere in the "doltish customs" of tribal holdings, with neglect of industry; leaving their cattle to wander over vast ranches of pasture held in effect by the chief of the tribe, who extracted from them a barbaric wealth; while the natives, ill-fed, ill-clothed, dirty, riotous, in contempt of any other labour lived more or less by "driving" the cattle of their neighbours, or in the excitement of a free fight with any tribe whatever. The picture in fact might serve as well for that which is sometimes drawn of English Ireland to-day, save that the chief is replaced by the more modern landlord.

Such simplicity as this has never been the history of the Irish. Their mediaeval trade was far more manifold and complicated than belongs to a grazing and hunting community.

The natural traffic of Ireland in hides and sheepskins, and in the skins of deer and lambs, is well known; and the rivers and rude mountains of bare granite yielded the skins of wild animals to the hunter, otter and martin, squirrel, wild-cat, hare, and wolf. The large landowners exported cattle and horses, the famous Irish stag-hounds,[1] and hawks. Their horses were of many kinds, from the ancient Connemara pony to the steed worth 400 cows:[2] "horses of service are called chief horses, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. . . . Of the horse of service they make great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great piece of safety."[3] Hawks became so scarce by 1480. the numbers carried away that a heavy tax was put on their export:[4] a map of 1609 shows "the high Hills of Benbulben where Clarke limbereth a Falcon esteemed the Handsomest in Ireland."

These were the profitable trades of hunters and graziers. But other exports came from the

[1] Gilb. Viceroys, 543.

[2] Tr. of Metr. Hist. of Depos. of R. II.; Archaeologia, vol. xx. p. 40.

[3] Hol. vi. 21.

[4] 20th Ed. IV. c. 1.

farmers who ploughed and tilled the land. We have a picture of Ulster as it was when the English drove out the Irish to enjoy it themselves. "It yieldeth store of all necessary for man's sustenance in such measure as may not only maintain itself but also furnish the city of London yearly with manifold provision. . . . As it is fit for all sorts of husbandry so for increase of cattle it doth excel. . . . Hemp and flax do more naturally grow there than elsewhere," and "the goodliest and largest timber" may "easily be brought to the sea by Lough Neagh and the river of the Bann."[1]

Beyond the English Pale lay the "Regions"
1515. of the Irish enemies, as Henry was informed, where reigneth more than 64 Chief Captains with other lesser captains, each region having its army of from 400 to 800 trained men besides the common folk: and besides these territories 30 great captains of the English noble folk that followed the same Irish order.[2] All that outer world was to the English a land of barbarous men hiding in caves or in wattle and mud huts. Irish records tell a different story. In these we see houses that gave proof of wealth and comfort, and of a love of beauty and colour. The dwelling of

[1] Concise View of the Society of the new plantation in Ulster, called the Irish Society, 19. B. ed. of 1842 by Vandercom, Saunders & Bond.

[2] St. Pap. II. iii. 1-9.

wood was often finely-wrought and finished—"a white wattled edifice of noble polish, habitation of the sweet-scented branches."[1] Or men watching c. 1300.
the rise of a stone house like Cloonfree in Roscommon would say, "whiter than the egg's shell is the mansion . . . every drop runs off of it without wetting, even as it would run off a waterfowl."[2] Poets told of "white-mansioned Munster," of the "white edifices" of Connacht c. 1300
and of Ulster hung with crimson cloths, of "the fort of the splendid lime-doors."[3] "A house beloved is that on which I have turned c. 1600
my back," sang O'Hussey after a visit to Felim O'Byrne[4]—"populous burgh of many a white liss—mansion of fairy light: smooth, evened, noble every way—delicate rath: perfected in colour and complete. Dwelling beloved: refined, and blooming freshly, and majestic, to leave

[1] Hy-Fiachrach, 265; *v.* ch. ii. p. 58. The ordinary Irish house must in fairness be judged by the ordinary house of other countries. For example, the library of Exeter College, Oxford, was thatched in 1375. Boase, Exon. xlvii. *v.* app.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 353-4, 361. *v.* app.

[3] Hy-Fiachrach, 255-261; O'Grady, Cat. 452, 423. "A blessing bide on Ballinacor: my visit thither I deem all too brief; mine own will is not prescribing for me to depart from the wine-abundant white-walled mansion. Ballinacor is our resort for the chase [*i.e.* to it we repair in quest of largesse]: ancient sanctuary of Innis-Neill's generosity; such is the multitude of its blithe and accomplished companies that 'tis small wonder though its denizens bear away the palm." O'Grady, Cat. 507. *v.* app.

[4] Felim mac Fiacha mac Hugh O'Byrne. O'Grady, Cat. 474.

which I in sooth have been most loth; a rath of gentle lissome women which (now that I am gone from it) has plunged me deep in pining sadness. Dear to me was the joyous uproar of its sons of chiefs, and dear the decoration of its bright apartments; dear was the frolicking of its clean-built wolfdogs, and its gay caparisoned horses at their speed. I loved the fair white colour of its textures, with its garrison that ever plied some cunning feat; the heavenly dulcet melody of its harps, and voice of its yellow tubed trumpets various.[1] Dear to me were its welcome and its amenity, dear too the loud hum of its occupants; with headlong trial made there of its racers, with pointing of its tough and burnished-headed spears."

It was with the same affection that blind Teigue O'Higgins told of his poet's dream to see Maguire's court of Enniskillen by the blue hills,[2] and how beyond all dreams was the bright reality. From afar the blithe uproar of the chase greeted him, wolf-dog and greyhound in field and wood and the horses trying their speed. By the mansion the masts of the Lough Erne flotilla stood as a grove along the shore. The courtyard was thronged with gentlemen of the Clan-Colla who dispensed largesse; the hall crowded with minstrels and poets; ladies and their women in another room embroidered rare

[1] Much ornamented. [2] O'Grady, Cat. 431; *v.* app.

tissues and wove golden webs; "of wrights a whole regiment is there—of artificers also, that finish beakers—of smiths that forge weapons; mantles and rugs are taking a crimson stain, swords are tempered to a right blue, spearheads riveted to shafts; 'pledges' are enlarged, others again brought in; gallant men hurt are tended by the leech, brave men uninjured are being damaged."[1] Part of the day was spent in listening to romances, in comparing genealogies; there was drinking and music; and so much to see and hear that the full day seemed but an hour till at even they sat in due order for supper. Fighting men were to be seen on all sides, pervading all the house; as they sat in their own quarters each man's arms hung ready above his head, for those were days of fear, when deputies and O'Neills fought for lordship of Fermanagh, and English troops were out on all their borders, in Monaghan, the Annally, the Breffnies, to plant sheriffs and provost-marshalls with their stocks and gallows, to break up the patrimony of the tribes and parcel it out with their measuring-rods, and with the new tenures and the foreign oath to kindle undying feuds in every territory and on every holding.[2] At night couches were strewn for the gentlemen,

[1] Punishment of malefactors must be intended.

[2] "In the end," wrote Essex, "it may be put to her [the Queen's] choice whether she will suffer this people to inhabit here for their rent or extirpe them and plant other people in

with down covers. A short nap, and Maguire was heard with his picked men in harness making ready to ride at break of day, returning with wounded prisoners, lowing cattle, and things of price.

The chief's court had a gay splendour. Irish captains and horsemen were old-fashioned—arrayed, according to Spenser, like Chaucer's knights.[1] The young men of the kin—"hudyves gentz" in the statute of Kilkenny, "idle-men" or gentle-men in the phrase of the Pale,[2]—were the nucleus of his fighting force. Wearing in war skulls or conical iron bascinets, with chain mail tippets falling on neck and shoulders, sometimes whole suits of armour silver-gilt, and golden spurs, they rode on pillions[3] so as to cast the great Irish spear, the

it. The force which shall bring about the one shall do the other, and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant," 1574; O'Grady, Cat. 418 n.

[1] *v.* Camb. Ev. i. 193, 195. "We never were victims," wrote Lynch, "of such fickleness that, like Proteus, we should be constantly changing our dress according to the fleeting fashions daily imported from England."

[2] Berry, Stat. 446. In Old French *hudevesce* is given as a variant of *oisivesse*. *Hudyves* is probably a form of *oisif* or *oisdif*. Tr. Rel. to Irel., St. Kilk. 63 n.; Ware's Ant. 186, for use of word idle-men.

[3] Even the English marchers refused to obey orders that they should "ride as Englishmen," for that "being skilful in their Irish weapons which they cannot use in the saddle, it should be right perilous to give the Irishry that odds" of compelling the marchers to use the English saddle. St. Pap. II. iii. 450.

horses jingling their gilt bridles and the gilded chains or peytrels that hung across their chests.[1] Spenser saw later these dashing horsemen, riders without stirrups, springing on their horses at gallop, charging with spear held aloft above their heads: "I have heard some great warriors say that in all the services they had seen abroad in foreign countries they never saw a more comely man than the Irishman, nor that cometh on more bravely in his charge."[2] "Proud they are of long crisped glibbes, and do nourish the same with all their cunning: to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainy."[3] Next to them came the foot-men, hired gallow-glasses who made war their business. A carved tomb of the XIII. century shows them in high conical helmets, ring-armour to the knees, tippets of chain mail, bare legs, and shoes;[4] they carried a weapon called "a spar much like the axe of the Tower": "their boys bear for them three darts apiece, which darts they throw ere they go to the hand stripe. These sort of men

[1] *v.* p. 64. Each horseman had his horse and two boys and two hackneys. 4 M. p. 1874 n.

[2] *v.* Camb. Ev. iii. 235-7. "For in his getting up his horse is still going, whereby he gaineth way; and therefore the stirrup was so called in scorn, as it were, 'a stay to get up,' being derived of the old English word sty (*sic*), which is to get up or mount."

[3] Campion, cap. vi. 18.

[4] Soc. Ant., Sep. 1907, 344. *v.* app.

be those that do not lightly abandon the field but abide the brunt to the death."[1]

Idle-men and gallow-glasses, warriors necessary for the defence of the territory,[2] often active in disturbing the neighbours' peace, were not mere free-booters; for even the gallow-glasses were in some cases settled on the land, which they tilled for their living in time of peace.[3] It was in the town-land of the Tyrone gallow-glasses that we hear of a "beautiful herb-garden."[4] Many of the soldiers were men of culture. Some of them were landed proprietors. But men of peace took as high rank in the lord's mansion as the soldiers: the great landowners that stood round the chief were the leading lawyers, historians, poets, scribes, the most cunning artificers and wrights. They took the high places at the feast, and displayed their pride in the colour and richness of their dress[5]—men "of the fair hands," as distinguished

[1] St. Pap. III. iii. 444.

[2] Generations of war with the English for the possession of the land—a war in which the foreigners exhausted every device to set each tribe at strife with its neighbours—must have enormously increased the military retinue of the chief, out of all proportion to the remainder of the household. Thus in the height of the great war for Irish independence in Leinster (1461) O'Connor Faly and MacRichard Butler had 1000 horsemen or more all wearing helmets. 4 M. p. 1015. *v.* app.

[3] C.S.P. 1592, 464; Davies, 245, 257, D. 1787. The idle-men were defamed and persecuted with great virulence by the English, who objected to a patriotic force that refused to be conquered.

[4] *v.* p. 254.

[5] *v.* ch. vii.

from the labourer.[1] The pantaloon of white frieze, "a long garment not cut at the knees but combining in itself the sandals, the stockings, and the drawers,[2] which all classes wore till Elizabeth's day, was convenient in the very swift running for which the Irish were famed—"Hounds can scarcely follow them, much less men"; it is curious to note that according to Petty this swift running disappeared at the time when Irish dress was abolished. The tunic or shirt was highly embroidered and trimmed with silk for festival days, and adorned with enormous hanging sleeves.[3] Over all hung the much-maligned Irish mantle—the rich purple cloak of the chief with its fringes of silk or delicate thread of woollen round the border, or the coarser frieze of the poor with its edgings of woollen thread, the hoods adorned with folds and fringes for ornament, for warmth, and for protection from the rain.[4]

[1] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Cormac, 29.

[2] Camb. Ev. ii. 209-11; O'Grady, Cat. 138.

[3] St. Pap. II. iii. 450; Cellachan of Cashel, Bugge, 58, 64.

[4] "The hairy fringes attached to the hem of the mantle, and projecting particularly from the hoods, were generally useful as a protection against the rain. The material of the mantle was not always of coarse or flimsy stuff. It varied according to the higher or lower rank of the wearer, sometimes fine, sometimes coarse, often dyed with purple, and adorned with fringes of silk, or at least with a delicate thread of woollen, around the borders; to the sides of the mantle was attached a plain, narrow selvage, so woven that the threads

The women of the household were much regarded: "They are great workers and housekeepers after their fashion," Captain Cuellar said of the women who sheltered him.[1] In the richer houses they were noted for their wisdom, their comeliness and fine apparel—linen and fine woollen, with embroideries and gold thread, even cloth of gold, and on their heads the great linen rolls which were the fashion of their day. They appear in the Annals humane and beautiful, distinguished for intelligence and grace, or eminent for knowledge and good sense and piety, for prosperity and wealth, for bounty and open houses
d. 1447. of hospitality[2]—women such as Sarah O'Mulconry, "a nurse to all guests and strangers, and to all the learned," or Finola, daughter of Calvagh O'Conor Faly and Margaret O'Carroll, the most beautiful and stately, the most renowned and illustrious woman of her time in all Ireland.[3]

should flow down from its borders, like the fringes which are usually seen hanging from the curtains of a bed. But, on the uppermost border of the mantle, several folds of those selvages were arranged, which, by their swelling proportions, were at once more ornamental, and concentrated more warmth on the naked neck. The man who describes the Irish mantle as a greasy kersey, and compares the fringes flowing from its borders to a horse's mane, may prove his malignant wit, but not a love for truth." Camb. Ev. ii. 205. See also 221, 222.

[1] Captain Cuellar's Adventures, ed. Hugh Allingham, London, 1907, p. 62.

[2] 4 M. pp. 851, 871, 885, 939, 1117, 1133, 1351, 1363, 1375, 1401, 1501, 1603; Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Cormac, 55, 57.

[3] 4 M. 953, 153. *v.* Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 50, 212, 217. 218.

"Graceful hospitality is ministered
To all who come each night,
At the quiet banquet of the populous mansion
By the placid, generous, cheerful dame":

so a poet sang of the mistress of an Irish house in the midst of the fierce Elizabethan wars; and yet another:

"She is sufficiently distinguished from every side
By her checking of plunder, her hatred of injustice,
By her serene countenance, which causes the trees
To bend with fruit; by her tranquil mind."[1]

The spirit of such women is seen in the Irish proverb of courteous manners: "Three things there are for which the Son of the living God is not grateful: haughty piety, harsh reproof, reviling a person if it is not certain."[2]

The Irish women had evidently a position of great independence and influence. They held personal property, and by the custom of the country were well endowed: the whole standing rent due to O'Sullivan from his land of crag and rock (£40) was ever allotted to the lady for the time being towards her idle expenses.[3] Among the richer classes they were well educated, using Latin as a second language, and the more cultivated learned also English.[4] When the blind

[1] Misc. Celt. Soc. 351, 369.

[2] Triads, ed. Kuno Meyer. For urbanity of manners *v.* app.

[3] C.S.P. 1587, 364.

[4] *v.* ch. vii. "The women have in their English tongue a harsh and broad kind of pronunciation, with uttering their

1118. king of Connacht, Rory O'Conor, died on his last pilgrimage to Clonmacnois, his daughter herself engraved for the shrine there a silver chalice with a burnishing of gold ;[1] and as we have seen women were skilled in embroidering rare tissues[2] and weaving golden webs. They took a high place in all works of intelligence and mercy. In the humane ideal of Irish civilisation women were called to public duties of conciliation and peace. "In all controversies between O'Neill and Nelan O'Neill," ran the order of the Government, "they shall stand to the arbitration of the Lord Deputy, Rose daughter of O'Donnell and wife of Nelan, and Henry son of Shane O'Neill."[3] A controversy between Ormond and Ulick Burke was referred by common consent to the determination of the wives of the said Ulick and of John Grace, gentleman ; if they fail to agree, it was to go to the lord deputy and council.[4] In a dispute between Desmond and Thomond respecting the two earls' relation to Irish tribes, "we have remitted the hearing of the process to the Ladies of Desmond and Thomond," with various others, "or any four of them, so that the said ladies be two."[5] The women of Ireland, of every race,

words so peevishly and faintly, as though they were half sick, and ready to call for a posset." Hol. vi. 4.

[1] 4 M. p. 1033.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 431 ; Joyce, Soc. Hist. ii. 365-6.

[3] Car. i. 1535, 70.

[4] Car. i. 1544, 213.

[5] Car. i. 1550, 225. Cf. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 195.

had shared in the ancient Irish tradition of public esteem and influence.[1]

Hospitality was lavish, "without sorrow, without gloom in the house";[2] and even in the towns it was held a shame to have an inn or send a traveller to seek entertainment there.[3] In every homestead the mistress kept an oaten cake whole for the stranger. The saying ran: "Three preparations of a good man's house: ale, a bath, a large fire."[4] "This is the first thing ye need," said St. Ciaran to his visitors, "warm water over your feet."[5] The floor was strewn, as in France and England, with green rushes[6] and sweet-scented herbs in summer, in winter with plaited

[1] The day on which Cellachain came to Cashel (934) there was a great host of the two provinces of Munster electing a king. It was Cennedig son of Lorcan whom they would make king. Cellachain's mother the queen proceeded to Glennamain and said to the nobles of Munster "remember the arrangement which Cormac Cas and Fiachu Muillethan made between their great descendants! and there is of the descendants of Eogan a man who is senior by age and knowledge to you O Cennedig, and who is a king in figure and appearance." They asked who he was. The queen said he was the son of Buadachan [Cellachain] and she made the lay. . . . When the champions of Munster heard these great words and the speech of the woman, Clan Eogan said that the heir (?) should be brought to them that they might make him king. Cellachan of Cashel: A. Bugge, 59-61. For Irish hospitality, and for the women's embroidery, ib. 58, 119.

[2] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Cormac, 53. *v.* app.

[3] Camb. Ev. i. 59-63. [4] Triads, ed. Kuno Meyer.

[5] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 277.

[6] Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 53; cf. Fields of France, by Mary Duclaux, p. 285.

rushes or straw, over which were laid the carpets sold in the markets, and rugs of leather and skins, and the people preferred seats or cushions of grass or straw mattresses to the hard benches.[1] The English, when they had swept MacMur-
1541. rough's land with a hosting, ordered him to provide his plundered tenants' houses with benches and boards after the English sort.[2] But a Spanish visitor describes in Irish houses seats and tables such as were used in other countries, the seats ranged at the table facing the entrance door. Food was abundant and varied—milk, butter, herbs, spices from the East, with great store of wild swans, partridges, plover, quails, and all other game, oysters and fish in plenty, and all kinds of meat and fowls.[3] From silver-rimmed mazers and beakers of gold they drank ale, mead,[4] nectar made of honey and wine, with ginger, pepper, cinnamon, and other ingredients,[5] and "their excellent aqua vitae, or usquebaugh as they call it, which inflames much less than the English aqua vitae."

1590. "Their entertainment for your diet shall be more welcome and plentiful than cleanly and handsome: for though they did never see you before they will make you the best cheer their

[1] Moran's Archbishops, 93.
[2] C.S.P. 1540, 55; 1541, 57; 4 M. 1535.
[3] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 6-7. *v.* app.
[4] Hy-Fiachrach, 216.
[5] Ware's Ant. 182-4.

country yieldeth for two or three days, and take not anything therefor:"[1] this account, like all others that we have from Englishmen, was written in a time of war and poverty. There were many charges against the Irish of being dirty and slovenly—some of these were stories of the very poor, evidently not very different from the poor elsewhere in mediaeval times; some were pictures of women enduring the cruelties of war and a fugitive life, or demoralised by want and famine; and all were the tales of strangers and enemies. The Irish themselves did not accept such charges[2]—in fact they flung them back at the invaders.[3] In the country the tribesmen of the kin, in the towns the craftsmen and tradesmen, went "cosher-ing" at the times of feasts, joyously sharing in the entertainments given at the wealthy man's house

[1] Descrip. of Ireland, 1590, Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841. *v.* app.

[2] "There is," wrote Lynch, who should have known something of his people, "no quarter of the world where the infant is attended with more affectionate solicitude than in Ireland at the present day, where they are kept longer in swathing bands, or are more frequently bathed in tepid baths. Even the poorest woman strains every exertion to swath her babe according to her means; she bathes it often in warm water, lest a distortion of the neck or legs or arms should be a disgrace to herself or an injury to the child when it arrived at the years of maturity." Camb. Ev. ii. 143.

[3] "My mourning's cause is that my country is ground down by a mangy brutish clown, devoid of religion or of justice: that these followers of Cromwell, by whom our Prince was cropped [*i.e.* docked of his head], should now in our fair dwellings dance and gamble and drink away." O'Grady, Cat. 30.

without distinction of rank; for it was the boast of every great man to welcome alike the mighty and the learned, the humble and the needy—any Plebeian of whom might himself rise by his ability, whether in Church, in State, or in Art, and "wear a Chief's head."[1] "They love music mightily,"[2] said Good, a teacher at Limerick, "and of all instruments are particularly taken with the harp, which . . . is very melodious," and every feast had its harper, "incomparably more skilful than any nation I have ever seen," according to Gerald of Wales. In Spenser's judgment the Irish poems "savoured of sweet wit and good invention . . . sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them":[3] their verses were "taken up with a general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings." These democratic gatherings brought gaiety to the country-side and a real intellectual life. The odes of the chief bards were stored in the people's memories: so were the chanted records of their race, the genealogies and boundaries of their tribes, and the names of their famous men. Poor and rich of "the blood" were reminded of their tie of kinship and the tradition of the Irish race and nation, "whereby it came to pass, in times of trouble and

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 149.

[2] Flood, Hist. Mus 112; Camb. Ev. i. 309-21; *v.* Flood's Harp.

[3] Spenser, View of Ireland; *v.* Hol. vi. 67.

dissension, that they made great parties and factions, adhering one to another with much constancy; because they were tied together, *vinculo sanguinis*."[1]

Round the house lay the cornyards,[2] the orchards, and tilled fields of Irish landowners famed for good tillage . . . "praiseworthy in the eyes of English and Irish" for their well-furnished and commodious courts, castles, and comfortable seats—[3] "prodigious the shadow of their corn-fields":[4] "the neighbouring countries seldom produce a larger or heavier grain than what is to be found in many parts of Ireland."[5] Popular proverbs show the interest in tillage: "Three unfortunate things for a man: a scant drink of water, thirst in an ale-house, a narrow seat upon a field. . . . Three unfortunate things of husbandry: a dirty field, leavings of the hurdle, a house full of sparks. . . . Three tokens of a cursed site: elders, a corncrake, nettles."[6] Once a governor on his march wondered "that by *so barbarous inhabitants* the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently[7] inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten as the lord deputy now found

[1] Davies, 131, D. 1787.
[2] O'Grady, Cat. 384.
[3] 4 M. 1881, 1893; *v.* ch. ix. *v.* app.
[4] Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 281, 231, 235.
[5] Ware's Ant. 189; O'Curry, Manners and Customs, cccIxii.
[6] Triads, ed. Kuno Meyer.
[7] Fynes Moryson. "Frequently" here means crowdedly.

them. The reason whereof was that the queen's forces during these wars never till then came amongst them." But if along the track of Elizabeth's soldiers houses, corn-fields, orchards, fences, every token of a people's industry, were laid "hand-smooth," the land had once been rich with grain, gardens of herbs, groves of "fair-nutted hazel," stretches of flowering apple-trees, and "beautiful fruit trees with a mellow top of honey on their pods."[1] Kilkenny, the lordship of the earl of Ormond, was protected from the worst ravages of war, and remained fertile when the rest of the land had been devastated: "Yet is not Ireland altogether destitute of these flowers and fruits, wherewith the county of Kilkenny seems to abound more than any other part."[2] "Kilkenny is a pleasant town, the chief of the towns within this land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the husbandmen's labour, and the pleasant orchards."[3] Munster had long
c. 1400. been very rich, with eleven great lords[4] spending yearly £15,300, and a number of wealthy knights, squires, and gentlemen who prospered in agriculture and in commerce; and the southern

[1] Hy-Fiachrach, 185, 201, 219, 247, 255, 261, 273, etc. *v.* app.

[2] Moryson, iii. 159.

[3] Moryson, Itinerary, iii. 157, 1617. The description of the Wollaghan trees (C.P.S. 1586, 240) of Munster answers to the arbutus. The explanation of the word is obscure; but I am told that "arbutus fruit" is known as ubla caitne (pronounced as oolacahney), *i.e.* apples of the arbutus.

[4] Campion, cap. vii. 94-6.

plains long remained "a pleasant and fruitful country, as the sun cannot shine on better": "no province of this realm of Ireland is comparable with the province of Munster."[1] Parts of Limerick were "called the gardens of the land for the variety and great plenty of all grain and fruits."[2] In Connacht the people were "good and civil and full of cattle always." "I travelled through Clanrickard," wrote Sidney, "and found the country in good quiet, universal well tilled and manured";[3] and the vision of that wealth gave the measure to the invaders of the terrible fines to be levied from the earl of Clanrickard, and the pillage which might be got from the industries of Connacht.[4] Before the devastation of the north Tyrone, according to the English, was the "fairest and goodliest country in Ireland universal," wealthy and well inhabited, and Armagh "one of the fairest and best churches in Ireland."[5] It was in fact a land "meet for the English to inhabit." Poets sang of "Ulster's art-loving province," "that noble apple-blossomed expanse of ancient soil," where there was "all worthy produce of fruit-

1580. 1560. 1567.

[1] C.P.S. 1580, 232; Car. ii. 284.

[2] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 4.

[3] Car. i. 308; Sid. Let. 28. *v.* app.

[4] *v.* p. 69. Car. i. 308, 334. The English undertakers were to make profit by exporting butter, cheese, bacon, beef, honey, wax, tallow, corn, herring, with divers other merchandise. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 7. *v.* app.

[5] Car. i. 243-4; cf. O'Grady, Cat. 409 n. 1.

bearing boughs."[1] It had its "beautiful herb-gardens."[2] Spenser himself marvelled at the wealth of Ulster: it "was as thickly inhabited," he wrote, "and as well stocked with wealth as any portion of England. Records of undoubted antiquity prove that when the king was engaged in war 30,000 marks were paid by Ulster."[3]

1557. On their first raid on Shane O'Neill, the English had found in Armagh enough butter, corn, and victuals collected to maintain an army of Scots for a whole year—so great a mass indeed that the English could not by any means have it carried away or during their abode in Armagh gather it in one place, for that almost every house was full with one or other kind of victual, so "it was resolved that the victuals should be burned in the houses where they lay, the lord primate's and dean's houses only preserved."

1516. When Ulster-men were described as "more beast-like and barbarous than the people of other countries," Shane haughtily asked the English queen to observe the peace and wealth of his country as compared to her own possessions in Ireland. Three hundred of the queen's farmers in the Pale had fled from English rule to seek the safety and well-being of Tyrone; "it was a very evil sign," Shane added in his biting irony, "that men shall forsake the Pale and come and dwell among wild savage people."

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 364. [2] *v.* p. 254. [3] Camb. Ev. ii. 125-7.

An old Irish proverb gave "three sounds of increase: the lowing of a cow in milk, the din of a smithy, the swish of a plough."[1] From their dairies they sent out butter (so much that the export was forbidden[2]) and cheese; the two first presidents of Munster, exploiting the resources of the province, got patents to export from Cork 30 barrels of butter and 500 stones of cheese; and a suitor anxious to win Burghley's favour sent him a present of two Irish cheeses.[3] But the most important trade of the farmers was in grain. "The country people themselves are great plowers and small spenders of corn,"[4] reported Spenser, and by their labour they had for hundreds of years made Ireland the granary of England, Wales, Scotland, and even more distant countries.[5] Eight kinds of corn are mentioned by early writers. English monasteries and nobles drew provisions from Ireland. Edward I. fed his armies in Wales, Scotland, and Gascony with Irish oats, wheat, wheat-malt, pease, beans, bran, and other provisions of beer, meat, and fish.[6] Edward II. ordered free export of corn and victuals from Ireland to England.[7] Edward III. drew from

1550. 1571. 1576. 1588. 1200. 1295. 1324. 1360.

[1] Triads, K. Meyer. [2] C.S.P. 1550, 108.

[3] Gibson's Cork, 210; Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, Desc. of Irel. 8-9. *v.* ib. Cormac, 35. An "ale-house without cheese" forbidden to a chief. O'Grady, Cat. 91.

[4] View of Ireland, 97.

[5] Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii., St. of Kilk. App. 133 n.; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 25, 172, 302.

[6] Gilbert, Viceroys, 525. *v.* app. [7] Eng. St. 17th Ed. II. c. v.

it supplies for his wars in France. Parliaments in Ireland forbade the transport of grain out of
1468. the country when it was above 10d. a peck: "A
1472. scarcity," they said, "being occasioned by a great export of corn of every sort into England, Scotland, and Wales, it is enacted that no corn shall be carried out of this kingdom." In the Book of Lismore we read the old complaint of the men of Connacht—a strange forecast of the grief of 1848: "Every year foreigners used to take from them their goods over sea to the east, so that they left famine and scarcity of food in the province."[1]

The corn trade spread far beyond England.[2] Ships from Galway, Waterford, and Cork bore grain to France, to Spain, even to Florence;[3] 10,000 quarters a year could be exported from Cork alone.[4] "I know," said Spenser, "there is great plenty of corn sent over sea from thence."[5] Such a commerce was too valuable to be left in Irish hands, and English speculators swarming over Munster snatched at the trade,[6] soldiers and planters competing for the monoply of exploiting the sale of corn. There were no better *labourers*, they said, than the poor com-

[1] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 241.

[2] Ir. St. 8th Ed. IV.; 12th Ed. IV.

[3] C.S.P. 1573, 521; 1590, 389; 1577, 125; 1592, 554-5; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. app. v. 267, 289, 478.

[4] Car. ii. 286. [5] View of Ireland, 97.

[6] C.S.P. 1561, 185. *v.* Irish complaint, Moran's Archbishops, 95.

mons of Ireland. Perrot was no sooner president of Munster than he got a patent to transport yearly 1000 quarters of grain, and president Drury followed his example, and the treasurer Wallop.[1] The queen, the deputies, the merchants vied with one another to capture the profits of the trade. After a generation of war, when Parliament was deploring the grievous decay of tillage and husbandry,[2] grants for export were sold to whoever could best pay for them. The Duke of Florence had a license for a large export.[3] The right to transport became so valuable that it was proposed from London to put an end to these licenses, to resume the leases of port corn to the crown, and to let the lands to tenants at a higher price, making a double profit for the queen. The crown interest, however, was not that of lord deputy Fitzwilliam, who was making his own terms with the clamorous dealers about him. He protested against the change, urging "the great plenty of corn, and the parties' deserts and services"[4] to whom he had issued licenses; and at the bidding of the merchants he pressed on the export trade: when merchants thought 5s. a quarter too high a duty, "and therefore not desirous to transport, the Council and I have drawn it to 3s. 4d."[5]

1571. 1576. 1578. 1586. 1591. 1592.

[1] Gib. Cork, i. 210; C.S.P. 1576, 195, 209.
[2] Ir. St. p. 410.
[3] C.S.P. 1591, 389.
[4] C.S.P. 1592, 519.
[5] C.S.P. 1592, 519.

The large export of corn would alone show the industry of the people. According to current theory there was no tillage, and sometimes the character of the people was blamed, sometimes the customs of land tenure. When archbishop FitzSimons set up his political workhouses he put forward the hackneyed plea of sloth—"on account of the great plenty of all kinds of provision that the land naturally produceth, and for this they neglect to labour." But if we refer the reports of untilled fields and an idle people to their just place and time, and to the purpose of those who wrote them, there remains abundant evidence of Ireland as a land, not only of pasture, but of an industrious and successful agriculture.

1590. An English traveller described the indomitable Irish at a time when they were staggering under the calamities of thirty years of war and confiscation, painfully digging their wasted fields and gathering the ashes of their homes: "the most of them are greatly inclined to husbandry; although as yet unskilful, notwithstanding through their great travail many of them are rich in cattle."[1]

There are not yet materials to give a just account of the disposition of the land in Ireland and the place of the people on the soil, or to compare the lot of an Irish tribesman with that of a feudal copy-holder or serf in England. But

[1] Desc. Irel. Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 3: O'Grady, Cat. 378.

some facts may be noted from the English State Papers, which refer to the tenure of land and the relation of the farmer to his lord or chief. Even these facts will show, not only the wide chasm between the English and the Irish conception of where property in land should lie, but some reasons for the deep attachment of the Irish to their own law.[1]

It was the common talk of the English that the Irish lived "as brute beasts holding all things in common," or at best had "only a scambling 1610.
and transitory possession, at the pleasure of the chief of every sept."[2] As a matter of fact, however, the Irish land system was regulated after the manner of a highly complicated and orderly society. Even in the ninth century the fields were scored with boundaries showing the growth of separate demesnes,[3] and in mediaeval times the sense of ownership was highly developed. There was not an acre of land, the English officers in Connacht wrote, that was not "ownered properly by one or other, and each man knows what belongs to himself."[4] Even deer on the mountain and waste were marked for the owner, and

[1] Land Tenure by A. S. Green in Ériu, v. iii. part ii. *v.* app.

[2] Davies, 277, D. 1787. *v.* app.

[3] *v.* passage in Lebor na hUidre, 1100 A.D. in Hull's Cuchullin Saga.

[4] Cf. C.S.P. 1589, 285. "Every plough-land in Connolaghe was known with the owners or occupiers thereof, and what rent of money or cattle they should pay." Cf. Davies, Tracts, 1787.

only the unmarked were fair game.[1] The Norman settlements in the twelfth century introduced complications of law and custom. Under the influence of new ideas the rules of succession varied: some freeholders "claim to succeed by tanistry, some by inheritance."[2] Feoffments, mortgages, trusts, leases, evidences of title, were as common in Ireland as in England, and were executed with such skill that the English lawyers could find no flaw in them: "their evidences be very fair and very lawlike without exception."[3] In the sixteenth century every important landowner had a lawyer trained in Oxford or London, as conversant with English as with Irish law.

The social system in Ireland, in fact, among a people of mixed race and active intellect, busied in manufacture and commerce, was far from rigid: it is very possible that there was a growth and change as rapid as any in mediaeval England. This development was doubtless most evident in the richer lands: in the poorer regions we may see the old customs in their original order. A brief picture is left us of the division of the tribal land in the O'Sullivan territory,[4] "being

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 81.

[2] C.S.P. 1588, 536.

[3] *v.* the Statute of Kilkenny: Tr. rel. to Irel. ii. 73. The complaint was that "the Irishry (especially by their daily feoffments to uses) have practised as many fraudulent shifts for preserving their lands from forfeiture *as in England.*" C.S.P. 1587, 406; cf. 1586, 99; 1588, 552. *v.* app.

[4] C.S.P. 1587, 364.

no good farm land, but all valleys, cragged rocks, and hills." One quarter of the land, "the lord's portion," which did never alter, was there allotted to the chief, with all the castles. About a quarter was set apart for the maintenance of a royal family—the tanist, the next to him in succession, and certain cousins and kinsmen to the lord—"as their shares of old ancient custom to live upon." The order of the Irishry was to give a living to every gentleman of the sept whose fathers or grandfathers were lords of the countries:[1] when the name did augment everyone's portion was diminished, and the portion of any deceased was divided among the out-livers. The remaining half of the land was held by the chief branches of the O'Sullivans.

The chief held the demesne allotted to him for

[1] Cork Arch. Soc. J., June 1906, 67. The English settlers, who were accustomed to describe all the Irish of every rank as peasants, were especially anxious to secure cheap labour, and regarded Irish customs from this point of view. Thus Walter FitzSimons, archbishop of Dublin, wrote to Henry VII. (1493): "The greatest and chiefest thing that not only impoverisheth this your highness's lordship of Ireland, as also causeth so many stirs and jars with them, is idleness, for if the father have an estate, and dies, though he have never so many children, they all hanker on that name, who is prince or chief of them, rather than to *take an employment* or trade, supposing it a disgrace so to do, their father afore them having acquired an estate; this is the custom of the country, which your highness's subjects [the English] have learned of the natives, filling their paunches, care not for any other than brawling and plotting. There are so many stragglers and poor, that it is a *more charity to put them to work*, than to succour them with victuals." Tuckey's Cork, 44.

his life only in trust for the kin, and used its revenues for the public service and defence. It supported, so far as it went, his following—the "idlemen" who formed his military household, the kerntye or over-seers who collected the taxes, perhaps the factors who conducted his trade. He himself tilled no land. The richer parts of his demesne he leased out to graziers and farmers who supplied his household with provisions. The forts were occupied by his men-of-war. Bog-lands, forest, and pasture, were never leased, for on these by immemorial custom no rent was paid. But these lands too supported servants of the chief, who were given grants of cows for grazing on the waste, and paid for them in military service or in supplies of milk and butter.[1]

Outside the chief's personal demesne were the ancient freeholders of the tribe. Some of these paid nothing for their land but only suit of court to the chief: they were doubtless the brehons, poets, historians, and gallow-glasses, who in return for their land gave to the tribe trained service in peace or war. Other freeholders paid what the English called a "rent certain"—a rent or tax of a penny an acre on good land, not counting waste or wood, so that the ploughland of 120 acres might actually stretch to 480 acres in all,[2] good and bad. This rent of ten shillings on a nominal 120 acres, if paid on a "pretty farm" of several hundred acres

[1] *v.* app. [2] Car. ii. 286; C.S.P. 1589, 132; 1587, 405.

given to an Englishman, would make (wrote the planter Smith) "a fit match for younger brothers . . . sufficient to yield wherewith to make a friend drink."[1] The Norman invaders had left these old Irish dues on the land as they found them, and they continued unchanged till Elizabeth's time.

Other estates or farms paid their rent or tax to the tribe in provisions or in service. These were called by the English "chargeable lands" and were reported to pay a "rent uncertain" and to lie at the lord's mere will.[2] On these farms the chief had a claim for meals or provisions—in fact he had the right, with his officers and servants, of "eating his rents" in the manner of the mediaeval English kings on their royal progresses. He could moreover call for men and horses to build forts and bridges or maintain the highway, and a convocation of the inhabitants might be summoned to pay his debts, or supply him with money for war or for a journey to the deputy, or for ransom from captivity. "Spend me and defend me" was

[1] Smith's Tract in MacDonnells of Antrim.

[2] C.S.P. 1593, 145. An Englishman who acquired farms in 1570 immediately raised the 10s. rent to 53s. 4d.; it was calculated in 1580 that a fine might be set by the English of £10 and a rent of £2; or a rent of £4, with military service; in 1586 Elizabeth gave orders to raise the rent to 3d. instead of 1d. an acre, to be paid for good and bad land alike; and in 1590 the London lawyers advised that rents fixed by jury in Ireland should be increased fourfold. Car. i. 417; Car. ii. 286; Life of MacCarthy, 155; Bagwell, ii. 157; C.S.P. 1589, 248.

the people's saying; that is, no taxation without protection.

But a chief could not, as the English ignorantly or wilfully reported, "at his mere will and pleasure," call for food or service from the "chargeable" lands. By Brehon law the dues to be levied had everywhere fixed limits and degrees. Extraordinary taxes were levied by convocation of the people. The ordinary rents and taxes were exactly defined for every farm; how much corn or meat or butter, how many men to be billeted, or if the number was unlimited how many meals they were to have—three meals in a year, food for twenty-four hours, and so forth.[1] If these ordinary rents were increased, or if heavy extraordinary charges were added to them, the farmer had an equitable protection by law. Since no rent could be claimed on waste land, "and men only paid on the quantity they did manure,"[2] the farmer could go to the lord and warn him that he would only till a portion of his land and pay rent on that alone.[3] The remainder of the farm so

[1] See the O'Reilly rents: 4 M. p. 1804 n., 1191 n.; and the taxes due from O'Sullivan to MacCarthy More: Tuckey's Cork, 50; C.S.P. 1588, 528-9, 533-4; Life of MacCarthy, 222; Irish deed, Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 102; ib. 192.

[2] C.S.P. 1588, 528.

[3] If the tenant would come to the lord and say, I will pay no more for my land than for this quantity, and name it, then the lord may use the remain as his own, and convert the profits thereof to his own use, until the said tenant would take the same, and undertake to answer all charge out of it. If the lord would let out for rent of corn or money, that

long as it was "waste" would then lie in the lord's hand, who might use its wood and pasture, but might not till it or let it without giving a fourth of the profit to the owner; and at any moment the owner might re-enter on his land on an agreement being made about the taxes. It was not to the lord's interest to exact taxes which would leave the whole of the country lying waste on his hands, nor was it to the farmer's interest to throw up his tillage save for good reason, and no doubt a compromise was generally agreed upon.

The Irish freeholder had thus both fixity of rent and fixity of tenure. It was impossible to deprive him of his land for any cause whatever; so strictly was the indestructible right of a man in his holding maintained, that in Ireland a mortgage might be held void which did not make provision for the redemption of the land by the mortgager.[1] That security of tenure was a fact we know from the number of families who held the same estates for at least 500 years, from the days of the Irish kings before the

parcel of land so seized upon by him during the continuance thereof in his hands, the usual tenant, whom they term the freeholder thereof, should have the fourth part of the said corn, or money rent, yearly of the lord.

The land is not chargeable with any arrearages as long as it is waste, by reason the lord had the profit of the grass, wood, and pasture thereof during the waste. C.S.P. 1587, 262.

[1] C.S.P 1588, 552.

Norman invasion down to the plantations of Elizabeth and the evictions of Cromwell.[1]

There was very frequent hiring of land. The usual Irish arrangement was made for two, three, or four years; and this system of short lettings and new bargains every two or three years seems to have been as much liked by Irish farmers as it was disliked by English planters. When God shall call the country to the knowledge of His Word, and the rule of civility, it would not be amiss, they thought, to fix twenty-one years as the term of the ordinary lease. It seemed to them that "inconveniences grow by the uncertain course that the lords and captains hold in setting their lands to their tenants, who hold the same not above four years, and so wander from one place to another, which course being redressed, and they commanded to set their lands as the undertakers must do, would do much good to breed civility generally in the country."[2] The short terms of the Irish tenant, in territories where the security of a lord depended on the size of his following, probably worked out rather as a scheme of tenant-at-tenant's-will than one of tenant-at-landlord's-will, and the people seem to have prized the

[1] Two poems by Seaan ODubhagáin of Hy-Many d. 1372, and O'Huedhrin d. 1420, give the chief Irish families who owned lands before the Norman invasion; most of these families still lived on their ancient lands in Elizabeth's time. Topographical Poems, ed. by O'Donovan, 1860.

[2] C.S.P. 1586, 99; 1589, 249.

freedom and liberty of choice given them. No doubt the "flitting" was enormously increased by the wars, and when soldiers settled on a rich quarter to eat up the land, or English planters seized a lordship, they must have seen with great disfavour the silent disappearance of herdsmen and earth-tillers the next May-day to seek safer or more hidden farms elsewhere.

There remained the stretches of hill pasture and thicket and marsh which lay intermingled with the rich lands, and were never leased or rented: "One half of Irish chiefry hath been ever her wilderness and her desert places: her mountain eminences, spoils of her streams, and her forests' dark-haired passes."[1] The tribesmen had their immemorial right to the use of these unrented lands—to the industry of herding cattle and sheep over the hillsides, pasturing swine in the woods, and driving horses among the spring growth of rough thickets and bogs. The lord of the estate loaned out cattle for grazing and the follower who accepted them became bound to certain fixed services. Once or twice a year, on May-day and All Hallows,[2] the kerntye went out to count on one day all the cattle loaned; the bargain was then renewed, or the tenant was free to make a "yearly flitting" and seek better terms elsewhere.

The right of the people to the use of the free unfenced land gave to the tribesmen something of

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 459. [2] Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846. i. 193.

dignity, of security, and of independence in bargaining for their labour. No landlord in Ireland ever thought of molesting them in that ancient privilege, hallowed by the blessing of the saint:

> "Like sand of sea under ships,
> Be the number of their hearths:
> On slopes, on plains,
> On mountains, on peaks."[1]

It was left to the English planters to point out, in the name of civilisation, that the unlimited authority of the landlord, the subjugation of the Irish, and a supply of cheap and helpless labour for the lords of the fat plains, might be compassed by clearing the cattle and their herds out of the uplands. The mind of attorney-general Davies went back to the terrific forest-making of the kings of England, and to the no less cruel enclosures of commercial landlords. It shocked him to find that though the chief of the nobility and gentry were of English race, yet none of them had made for himself a forest, park, or free-warren as in England:[2] not one but the Earl of Ormond had enclosed a deer-park. The forest law, said the advocate of conquest by legal chicanery, would have driven the Irish out of the hills,[3] "and have made them yield up their fast places to those wild

[1] Stokes, Lismore Lives, 164. [2] *v.* app.

[3] Davies, 124, D. 1787. A singular parallel occurs in the picture of Ireland "tenanted by lowing herds instead of howling assassins," which was given in 1863 by the *Saturday Review*; when the "raw materials of treason and sedition," it rejoiced to see, were being carried off by famine and emigration. *v.* app.

beasts which were indeed less wild and hurtful than they." It "hindered the perfection of the conquest very much" to have the shepherd and the herdsmen making a living where the lord might have hunted a desert waste.[1]

The propertied classes evidently feared the Irish land system as expressing what might be called the Socialism of the time. We may see their instinctive antipathy in the crude accounts they give of Irish customs. "They of the wild Irish as unreasonable beasts lived without any knowledge of God or good manners, in common of their goods, cattle, women, children, and every other thing. . . . And hereof it followed that because their savage and idle life could not be satisfied with the only fruit of the natural unlaboured earth, therefore continually they invaded the fertile possessions of their Irish neighbours that inhabited the said English pale, reaping and mowing the corn that they sowed not, and carrying away the cattle that they nourished not."[2] A Papal nuncio was given a similar account of Irish philosophy by his English escort: "They are very religious, but do not hold theft to be wrong, saying that it is sinful to have property and fortunes of our own, and that they live in a state of nature and have all things in common. And 1517.

[1] The Creaghts, herds in time of peace, in war attended the army. They drove the prey with their clubs and defended themselves with their knives. Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii., St. of Kilk. 43 n.

[2] Froude's Pilgrim, 66. *v.* app.

for the same cause there are so many thieves."[1] To judge from the landlords' accusations, the lawyers' arguments, and the planters' practice, the hostility of the Tudor adventurer sprang from the sense that the occupying farmer on the lands he proposed to appropriate had not too little security, but too much. While landlords in England were rounding off their estates by evictions and enclosures "without asking leave of the clouted shoe," the Irish farmer's tenure was secure.[2] The chief could not evict him and take his land, nor make a forest waste for his hunting. He could not tie the tenant down to his service for twenty-one years. He could not permanently seize on his land through a mortgage. If an Irish chief exceeded the law, he might forfeit his estate.

For an Irish chief could claim no divine right. "With the people things go by seniority; *with the chief by qualifications.*"[3] He had to pass through a double election—by the Commons, as we might say, ratified by consent of the Lords. When the people had chosen the ruler,[4] there remained the "giving of the rod" or sceptre, or the "putting on of the shoe"

[1] Julia Cartwright's Life of Marchioness of Mantua, 172-183.

[2] *v.* app.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 96. "Three things that constitute a king: a contract with (other) kings, the feast of Tara, *abundance during his reign.*" Triads, ed. K. Meyer.

[4] *v.* Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 440-8, 451.

by a leading chief whose family held this hereditary right,[1] who represented the powerful septs of the province, and by advice of the leading brehons acted as the guardian of right tradition and the laws of inheritance, and without whose consent the chief could not be legally installed. Like the chief an Anglo-Irish landlord, whose whole fortunes and hopes were cast in Irish soil, dared not roughly repudiate the people's law, exasperate them by wholesale extortions, or diminish them by hunger and despair. It was proved by witnesses in court that the Kildares 1557.
had never exacted illegal levies for war, such as

[1] "Felim Finn O'Conor was inaugurated at Carne near the village of Tulsk in Roscommon, and MacDermot put on his shoe." 1461, 1488; 4 M. p. 1015, 1161.

"When O'Donnell was proclaimed at Kilmacrenan O'Firghil presented him with a white wand perfectly straight and without the slightest bend as the emblem of his dignity, warning him that the unsullied whiteness and straightness of the wand should be his model in all his acts." Camb. Ev. iii. 341. O'Sullivan More refused to give the white rod to Donnell MacCarthy, even when supported by O'Neill, and reserved the inauguration for Florence MacCarthy, then prisoner in London. Life of MacCarthy, 194, 220, 221. The English found this power of the sub-chiefs a formidable barrier against the illegal captains whom they were in the habit of setting over tribes, to bring them to subjection or to ruin them by civil war. It was proposed (1594) to restrain O'Cahan (whose office it was to cast the shoe over O'Neill at his inauguration) never from henceforth to call or appoint any to be O'Neill, for should any undertake the title not appointed by O'Cahan, the people would not obey him. C.S.P. 1594, 266. See the case of Turlough O'Neill, ch. ix. p. 348. For "the shout of a king" *v.* Cellachan of Cashel, 61, 124.

the king's officers were in the habit of doing.[1] And English officials who inquired in 1586 asserted that Desmond[2] had never taken any rents from any farm, save the particular due that ought to be levied on that farm. "He did not deal as a tyrant by extortion, but took a noble of some, ten shillings of others, and of some only suit of court, and so held an equal course with everyone according to his tenure." In most of the instances given in the annals of a chief raising by force his "warlike refection," the people had denied any just claim on the ground that the usurping chief was not the rightful lord.[3] Law was regarded and obeyed.[4] "But as touching their government in their corporations where they bear rule," wrote

[1] C.S.P. 1557, 137; Car. i. 264-5. [2] C.S.P. 1589, 249.

[3] Hy-Fiachrach, 209.

[4] We know how the difficulties and dangers of Irish elections were deliberately aggravated by successive English rulers from John to Elizabeth, in order to ensure the ruin of the Irish polity. "We will learn from the Florentine how to make them kill one another," wrote a deputy. False claimants were set up —a tanist against an English heir, an English heir against a tanist, as best suited the occasion. During four hundred years the instances are innumerable of civil wars thus contrived by the authorities to weaken their enemies. Burleigh brought the system to perfection. On stray scraps of paper, on the margins of official reports, he untiringly "tricked" the names and pedigrees of Irish clans, keeping his lists ever ready of men of "the name" who could be advanced against any given chief, and could be themselves destroyed when that in turn was needed. The Irish system had its weaknesses, but it was unduly and falsely discredited by this treacherous policy.

Payne from Connacht, "is done with such wisdom, equity, and justice, as demerits worthy commendations. For I myself divers times have seen in several places within their jurisdictions well near twenty causes decided at one sitting, with such indifference that, for the most part, both plaintiff and defendant hath departed contented: yet many that make show of peace and desireth to live by blood do utterly mislike this or any good thing that the poor Irishman doth."[1]

Terrible pictures have been given of the iniquity of the Irish rents or taxes—the progresses and billetings, and the feeding of kerne, horses and horse-boys, dogs and dog-boys by the people, besides "cuttings, tallages, and spendings high or low at the chief's pleasure." Coin and livery, or the taking of horse-meat and man's meat for the army on the war-march, was held up to special opprobrium, and denounced as a "filthy and damnable custom," by which chiefs above all law taxed at their own will, and seized by force their "warlike refection" of the people. Hell itself would be emptied if the Irish coyne and livery were allowed there. "And it is said in an ancient discourse of the decay of Ireland, that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub."[2]

[1] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 12. [2] Davies, 22, D. 1787.

No mediaeval land-system, feudal or tribal, fully protected the peasant from a rapacious lord. The tyranny of royal purveyance in England, and certainly the English king's cess levied in Ireland, exceeded the exactions of Irish chiefs. Amid English tales of extortion, sent out in vague and general terms, and for political purposes, we should remember two main facts. Throughout the records we do not find a single case of a tribe accepting the help of the English to defend them from the extortions of a lawful chief: "they show an inviolable fidelity to their chiefs" wrote a Spaniard.[1] And in the Middle Ages, under their own law, there was no Peasants' Revolt among the Irish, nor any rising of the poor.[2]

The English objection to coyne and livery was not moral but political. A chief by its use maintained his army, defended his territory, and diverted taxes from the English treasury. Hence the desire to replace this tax by a royal purveyance and cess. Coin and livery, forbidden by the English to the "queen's enemies," was allowed to her friends. It was universally levied by English deputies and officers for their own armies—and with an ignorance and contempt of the safe-guards of Brehon law, a violence and disorder, such as had never been known among the Irish. When deputies used charges of extor-

[1] Moran's Archbishops, 93. [2] *v.* app.

tions and exactions to prove the savagery of Irish customs, and the tyranny from which English conquest was to free the natives, they proved only the uncontrolled violence of military conquest in that ferocious and corrupted time.[1]

We have seen the agricultural wealth of Ireland and the industrious tillage of the people. How then did there arise the wide-spread impression of Irish waste and poverty?

English officials whose reports have been accepted knew the country only along the line of the soldiers' march. "The inhabitants can and do live more hardily than any other people, after mine opinion, in Christendom or Turkey,"[2] says the lord deputy Surrey; for in face of the English armies that poured out of the Pale specially armed with scythes to level the growing corn, the Irish of the border-lands had learned to keep "their countries of purpose waste, uninhabited, as where nothing is nothing can be got"[3]—a policy which gave the English a new excuse to complain of the Irish character for laziness. "The cess and 1521.

[1] *v.* Ware's Ant. 77. "The English complained of our old Irish chieftains and landlords, that they visited their vassals so frequently, and with so great a train of attendants, that all the substance of the tenant was devoured. The men who have criminally seized the government of my country have merely changed, not cured, that disorder. They still oppress the farmers more grievously with the same extortions, and include the former landlords in the common affliction." Camb. Ev. i. 25.

[2] St. Pap. II. iii. 74.

[3] Richey, 7, 8; Moran's Archbishops, 129.

vexation of the soldiers," wrote Sir W. Herbert
1588. sixty years later, "make the labouring man careless of his tillage and husbandry, holding as good to play for nothing as to work for nothing (the soldier consuming the fruit of his labour)."[1] When English troops, fed with corn of Danzig and fish of Newfoundland, were sent out on organised work of destruction, to burn the winter haggards and the corn gathered in church-yards or hidden in pits, to raze the fences, cut down the orchards, slay every living beast, and break every loom, that hunger and cold might exterminate the people—then the water-cresses of famine, the shelter in a thicket of the woods, the russet trowsers and single ragged cloak of the fugitive, were scornfully pictured as the only fare and dress the Irish had ever known. They had "neither bread nor good victuals," said the English, and indeed the corn that the countrymen furtively grew in hidden clefts and valleys of the hills they saved for the horses, stinting themselves. "The ordinary food of these rebel Irish is a kind of grass, neither clothes nor houses
1582. do they care for."[2] "The wolf and the best rebel lodge in one inn, with one diet and one kind of bedding."[3] "The Irish men," ran the

[1] C.S.P. 1588, 545. "When the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldiers in one night consumed the fruit of all his labour. . . . Had he reason then to manure the land for the next year?" Davies, 132, D. 1787.

[2] Life, MacCarthy, 122. [3] C.S.P. 1582, 410.

scoffing description of an English lawyer sent 1581
over in the midst of a war which the English themselves admitted to exceed in suffering anything known even in that day of Alva's campaigns, "the Irish men, except in the walled towns, are not Christians, civil, or humane creatures, but heathen, or rather savage, and brute beasts. For many of them, as well women as men, go commonly all naked, saving only a loose mantle hanging about them: if any of them have a shirt and a pair of single soled shoes, which they call brogues, they are especially provided for; and the earl of Clancarr and the lord Morris" [great and wealthy lords reduced to the last extremity by war] "came the third of this instant to present themselves to my lord deputy at Dublin, being the chief city of all Ireland, in all their bravery, and the best robe or garment they wore was a russet Irish mantle (rug) worth about a crown apiece, and they had each of them a hat, a leather jerkin, a pair of brogues, but not all worth a noble that either of them had. . . . And their food is flesh if they can steal any, for they have no occupations, or have been brought up to any labour to earn anything. And if they can get no stolen flesh, they eat if they can get them, like [leek] blades, and a three-leaved grass which they call shamrocks, and for want thereof carrion, and grass in the fields, with such butter as is loathsome to describe: the best

of them have seldom bread, and the common sort never look after any. They have neither ministers or churches, or those which are be decayed and never used. They never marry, christen, or bury, but howl over the corpses like dogs, and because they themselves cannot make noise enough, they will many times hire some to howl with them. . . . Many live with grass in the field like brute beasts, and spend no corn, if great store of victual had not been sent thither out of England."[1]

With such tales the planters urged the queen to new slaughter of a barbarous people, and the giving of their land to Englishmen.[2] So complete
1603. was the havoc that attorney-general Davies, arriving a stranger in Ireland, took it for granted that the desolate waste and famished people represented the normal savage life of the "wild Irish." "I dare boldly say that never any particular person before or since [the reign of Henry II.] did build any stone or brick house for his private habitation but such as had lately obtained

[1] C.S.P. 1581, lxxxiv. This victual was sent for the English soldiers only. Some editors of the Irish State Papers made it their custom in the Calendars, with much abbreviation of other matter, to put at full length any passages that would give an impression of Irish poverty or misery, and further to repeat these in full also in the Preface with appropriate expressions of reprobation. A disproportionate picture has thus been produced. *v.* app.

[2] "No man," wrote one with unconscious irony, "is lord of his own any longer than he can defend it against others." Dymock, 6.

estates according to the course of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time plant any gardens or orchards, enclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor make any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions."[1] He had his own explanation ready to hand. All poverty and disorders were due to the "barbarous" Irish land-tenure and customs of succession, tanistry and gavel-kind. Sir John Davies' facts were untrue, and his reasons were unnecessary, but his fanciful account has passed into common acceptance. It was no doubt such sayings as these that made Hugh of Tyrone declare him a man more fit to be a stage-player than counsel to his majesty.[2]

[1] Davies, 129, 280, D. 1787. "They never esteemed lawful matrimony, to the end they might have lawful heirs. They did never build any houses, nor plant orchards, or gardens, nor take any care of their posterities." Another English account of the same time repeats the same current fallacies of the tenant holding only at will of the lord, so that he never buildeth, repaireth, or encloseth the ground; and whensoever the lord listeth, is turned out, or departeth at his most advantage, which left a great want of grain to suffice the country, and left the people idle and wandering with no settled home. Dymock, 1.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 479. In four years after Davies' arrival (1603), without any knowledge of Irish, or seeking adequate information from the people of the country, he had made up his mind on the historical and economical aspects of the Irish question,

Seventy years of this tyranny brought its natural results. "O man that ploughest the hill-side . . ." cried the poet, "art thou he that in the hour of gathering up its corn in ear shalt reap its tillage?"[1] With the war came the entire dislocation of Irish life—land measured and divided out anew, often under new names, till the very boundaries and properties of old times passed out of memory[2]—the whole machinery of labour shattered—the status of every class confounded in a common poverty.[3] Adventurers claimed the right that they alone should buy any corn sown. Trafficking on Irish industry and on

on which he laid down opinions (in 1607, 1610, 1612) with a confidence, and in a style, which have won for them a success not due to the accuracy of his facts. His work needs to be re-edited by a competent scholar.

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 443; compare with the rest of this poem, Sidney's letter: "The rest tremble, for most part; they fight for their dinner; and many of them lose their heads before they be served with their supper. Down they go in every corner, and down they shall go, God willing!" Sid. Let., Collins, 1746, p. 108.

[2] The memory of the old divisions of the town-lands in some districts at least seemed actually obliterated by 1684. Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 454.

[3] "Not one in a hundred of the Irish nobles, at this day, possesses as much of his land as he could be buried in, though they expect it in this year, 1664." "And thus the Burkes came over the Barretts in Tir Amhalgaidh, and took nearly the whole of their lands from them; but at length the Saxon heretics of Oliver Cromwell took it from them all, in the year of our Lord 1652; so that now there is neither Barrett nor Burke, not to mention the Clann Fiachrach, in possession of any lands there." Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 331, 339.

the passion of the people for their soil, they raised the profits on their farms: "Irish rents," they said, "will not maintain English diet and apparel,"[1] and in such cases Irish "extortion" had to give way to English "justice." So prices mounted—in the English-ruled districts "the acre in most, or at least in many places, being letten for 12d. [Irish] by the year,"[2] according to an official report—that is when they let to Irish tenants, for no Englishman could take the land at more than 6d.[3] The laborious Irishman could even be made to pay for a beast's grass the fourth sheaf of all his corn, and 16d. yearly, besides other accustomed Irish duties. We may imagine what hunger and poverty followed on these pitiless rents, and how that distress was again charged against the Irish as an offence.

This poverty was increased by devices of the commercial planters to secure cheap labour. A law forbade peasants to glean in bands after 1534. the Irish custom in the harvest-fields,[4] or to take sheaves of corn as wages instead of the bad money; cottiers and farmers were forbidden 1556. any more to make a livelihood by buying and fattening horses, because they sold them "very dear," and because having this industry "*they*

[1] C.S.P. 1593, 145; cf. ib. 1589, 249.

[2] Car. ii. 63. Sir Cormac of Muskerry let 400 cow-lands for £800 a year. Cork Arch. J., Apr. 1906, 66-7.

[3] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 7-8; *v.* p. 101.

[4] Stat. Irel. p. 62, 248.

will not labour on request made." Elizabeth ex-
1575. pected the Irish to give "reasonable relief" to the planter Essex, in other words to dig and carry[1] for him and such like either gratis or for a small hire, and for mere friendship supply him with flesh for the soldiers and oats for the horses. To provide by cold and nakedness a supply of cheap labour, Carew's cousin Herbert used the statute against Irish cloaks: "the mantle," he said, "made the Irish more apt to live and lie out in bogs and woods . . . and thereby are they less addicted to a loyal, dutiful, and civil life." His neighbour Denys scoffed at the pretence of spreading English apparel by seizing the last covering of the famine-stricken peasant, "for the rest of their garments they be all Irish, or the men naked with only such a cloak."[2]

It was not the peasants only who were to labour. "As there is nothing that the Irish more esteem than the nobility of blood, preferring it far before either virtue or wealth, so abhor they nothing more than disparagement, more odious unto them than death,"[3] so wrote Sentleger, and this pride was used in order to inflict fresh
1576 humiliations.[4] When the chiefs feared for their

[1] Car. ii. 3-6. [2] C.S.P. 1589, 129, 192, 222.

[3] Life of MacCarthy, 19.

[4] Lord Burghley measured the value to England of breaking up the Irish landed classes. "That gentleman who sells an

lives to come in to Sidney, "I can have them when I will," he boasted, "and made them both arm in arm bear and draw with their fellows."[1] Lord justice Pelham desired that all saving free- 1580.
holders (*i.e.* those holding by English title) should be disweaponed and disarmed,[2] and forced to follow either the plough or some science or occupation; and lord deputy Perrot approved this course: "Their hands," he wrote, "begin to wax hard with labour, as their feet once did in running to mischief."[3] A little later Taffe 1585.
advised Burghley to make all Irish gentlemen who did not put their sons to school (to become Protestants and English) to be forced to bind them as *apprentices in the Pale* to learn crafts as artificers.[4] "Those who were appointed factors for the Indian trade used to jocosely ask the collectors of the revenue, that when the entire property of the Irish was extracted by the public charges of the State, and the whole juice squeezed out of the golden apples, then the rind of those apples, the wretched bodies of the Irish, should be bestowed on them, to enable them to amass a fortune. Thus were the children of the Irish made a prey."[5]

acre of land sells an ounce of credit, for gentility is nothing else than ancient riches." Hume's Burghley, 25. *v.* app.

[1] Car. ii. 135; W. Conn. 303; Sid. Let. 106-7, 116.

[2] Car. ii. 285.

[3] Bagwell, ii. 249-51.

[4] C.S.P. 1585, 562.

[5] Camb. Ev. i. 63. *v.* app.

Such were the lessons of industry and the dignity of labour which the Irish refused at the hands of their supplanters. "The old rural populations of other lands devote themselves to their peaceful labours and avocations in happy security, but the mournful doom, 'old rural tenants away,' grates daily on the ear of the old occupants of our soil."[1] Davies, travelling over a devastated country, commented in his un-seeing and supercilious way, "Though their portions were ever so small and themselves ever so poor, yet they scorned to descend to husbandry or merchandise or to learn any mechanical art or science."[2] Surveying the desolation themselves had made, and the disorders of this various ruin, the English added to their charges against the Irish the blame of poverty and idleness.

But through this later devastation we may still trace the records of a civilization where in the country, as in the towns, there was busy industry —where fields were fenced and tilled, orchards and gardens planted, farms leased, and houses built by men who enjoyed secure tenure and protection against unjust taxation—where raids and tribal wars were not so universal as to destroy the steady growth of wealth, even of luxury, and the amenities of a courteous and hospitable society.

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 61. [2] Davies, 130, D. 1787.

IV.

THE WAR ON IRISH TRADE.

The reign of Henry VIII. opened for Ireland a new era. For now began a scheme of "conquest" the most calamitous in kind that can happen to any people—an invasion of trading speculators, whose object was to exploit for their own gain the material wealth of the land they overran.

It is true that trading instincts were active throughout the three previous centuries of English settlement in Ireland, but now for the first time the trader gained the chief and dominating power. England had definitely and consciously entered on her great commercial ventures.

The English merchants had long been feeling their way to the command of the seas and the carrying trade of the world. Between the reigns of Edward III. and Henry VII. a revolution in commerce gave in effect to English ships the foreign trade of England, which had till then been carried in Continental vessels.[1] The appointment at Pisa[2] of the first consul for English

1327-1509.

1485.

[1] Green's Town Life, ch. iii.

[2] Rym. xii. 270; Macpherson, i. 714.

merchants in the Mediterranean marked their further triumph: English vessels openly aimed at carrying the trade of foreign countries. The war to capture Irish trade was part of the commercial wars with Europe. Here at their very doors was an active Continental commerce. Here was a trade to be coveted. "Ireland lieth better for vent of all commodities than England doeth." All reports gave hopes of great profits to be found there. The first commercial pamphlet
c. 1445. written in England for circulation among the middle classes urged in rhyming doggerel that the trading interests of the country demanded the complete annexation of a land so plenteous and so rich:[1]

"That me seemeth that right were and no wrong
To get the land: and it were piteous wrong
To us to lose this high name *Dominus*.

. . . . . .

That name and people together might accord
All the ground subject to the Lord."

Stories circulated of the wealth of Ireland, with its fair fields and bounteous harvests, with such trade in wool and corn and hides and fish, and woollen and linen goods, with "such notable quarries of marble, such store of pearl and other rich stones, such abundance of coal, such plenty of lead, iron, laten, and tin, so many rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature

[1] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 3; Libel of Eng. Pol., Pol. Songs, ii. Rolls Series; *v.* Green's Town Life, i. 61.

seemed to have framed this country for the storehouse or jewel house of her chief treasure."[1] "Would you had seen the countries we have seen in this our journey, and then you would say you had not seen the like, *and think it were much pity the same were not in subjection.*" "I never, nor no other man that ever I have communed with, but saith that for all things it is the goodliest land that ever they have seen, not only for pleasure and pastime of a prince, but as well *for profit to his Grace and to the whole realm of England.*"[2] "The fertility and commodity of 1536.
Ireland is such as within short space, after my poor opinion, would be to the King's high profit."[3]

The glitter of mines too dazzled invaders and planters for over 300 years.[4] Edward III., 1360.
understanding that there were various mines of gold and silver in Ireland which might be very beneficial to himself and the people of that country, commissioned his principal ministers there to order a search. But a greater excite- 1531.
ment was stirred when news came that Spain had found gold in Brazil, and had despatched the first royal governor and divided the coast into captaincies, and poured in colonists, and negroes from Guinea. Henry, having secured his title to the realm of Ireland, at once sent 1543.

[1] Hol. vi. 41-2; *v.* Ware's Ant. 172; "great store of Orient Pearl," C.S.P. 1589, 125.

[2] Car. i. 109, 115-6. [3] Car. i. 105. [4] *v.* app.

prospectors to seek anew for Irish mines: "it is thought that great riches might be had of them,"[1] and £1000 was devoted to the mines and £1000 to the mint. Edward VI., in hope
1551. of some £30,000 a year clear profit, brought over German Protestants to Wicklow to replace the home miners, and paid them down £2000 before they wrought one day. In two years, when they had been discharged as "idle vagabonds not worth their keep," £6666 had been spent on the mines for a trifling profit of a few
562. hundreds. Elizabeth's deputy anxiously fined the ore in his own house to discover the ever vanish-
1568- ing returns from gold. On the final collapse of
1585. gold-searching, at a huge expense, adventurers divided the prospects of other mines of alum, tin, iron, copper, and "a metal found in the Connacht mountains, from which the English hope to gain advantage."[2]

Landowners in England also had thrown in their lot with the trading world. The wool-trade, the competition for the new wealth, their merchant marriages, stirred them to business enterprise—to the robbing of the commons of the poor, the plunder of monasteries, the rich adventures of continental wars, the voyages of the Spanish main, the driving back of Indians from American

[1] St. Pap. III. iii. 469, 585.

[2] Soc. of Ant. 1852, 141; C.S.P. 1568, 368, 381; 1584, 528; 1585, 554

soil. They were already, in the time of Henry VIII., seeking for good investments for the penniless younger sons of their land system, and lust of plunder and slaughter deepened as successive generations from English families—grandfather, father, and sons in turn[1]—set off to the European wars, serving under the Low Countries, Spain, France, Savoy, Venice, Florence, or all in turn, against Turks, Infidels, or Christians, as pay and spoil might tempt them, and returned to set up house on the profits of their raids by sea and land. A wealthy Ireland offered great hopes of livelihood for "younger sons of English families who had little or nothing to spend there,"[2] and these poor sons of rich fathers figured largely in all the adventures of the sixteenth century. The arguments used under Henry VIII. were expanded by a planter of Elizabeth's time, who undertook "to reform Ireland by replenishing it with English inhabitants." "England was never that can be heard of fuller of people than it is at this day . . . the excessive expense, both in diet and apparel, maketh that men which have but small portions cannot contain themselves in the emulation of this world with like countenance as the grounded rich can do." Where were these younger sons to find sufficient wealth? There was no hope,

[1] Herbert of Cherbury, p. 15.

[2] St. Pap. II. iii. 74, 326, 328, 329, 452, 469; Des. Cur. Hib. i. 57.

he considered, of the conquest of France or Spain, and Scotland was barren. Ireland, however, was the Queen's *inheritance*: a "pretty farm" there would make "a fit match for younger brothers," who could at the same time "inhabit and reform so barbarous a nation," and bring them "to knowledge and law." "I judged surely," said this pious imperialist, "that God did make apt and prepare this nation for such a purpose. There resteth only to persuade the multitude already destined thereto with the will and desire to take the matter in hand. Let us therefore use the persuasion which Moses used to Israel, they will serve fitly in this place, and tell them that they shall go to possess a land that floweth with milk and honey, a fertile soil truly if there be any in Europe."[1]

In the union of strict business with piety the English colonists indeed felt their superiority to the rival empire-makers "the Spaniards, . . . because with all cruel immanity, contrary to all natural humanity, they subdued a naked and a yielding people, whom they sought

[1] Smith's Tract, MacDonnells of Antrim. A noteworthy parallel occurs in the comments of the *Times*, in 1863 and 1865, on the flight of some two million Irishmen after the great famine. "The Irish will go. English and Scotch settlers must be speedily got in their places." "The Celt goes to yield to the Saxon. This island of one hundred and sixty harbours, with its fertile soil, with noble rivers and beautiful lakes, with fertile mines and riches of every kind, is being cleared quietly for the interest and luxury of humanity!"

for gain and not for any religion or plantation of a commonwealth." "For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gain and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospel and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable service before God? And what can be more honourable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without injury, wrong, and bloodshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests have performed? And what can be more beneficial to a common-weale, than to have a nation and a kingdom to transfer unto the superfluous multitude of *fruitless and idle people* (here at home daily increasing) to travel, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be devised, may and will yield infinite commodities?"[1]

The English submitted to their manifest destiny. The expectation of untold wealth united all classes in the same policy of exploiting Ireland. Kings with empty exchequers and the expenses of "conquest," were promised "infinite sums of gold and silver," not only from the mines, but from land-rents and trade-dues; for 250 years the duties paid in all the ports together to the Crown never exceeded £1000,[2] and richer

[1] Hol. vi. 107. [2] Davies, 31, D. 1787.

customs should be levied from the Irish commerce. The whole commercial world of England, nobles and middle class alike, saw new outlets of business and trade. The poorer classes looked to share in the pillage—600 herring-boats at the
1536. fishing off Carlingford offered, if there was war in those parts, "to make 3000 fighting men for a few days."[1] With the discovery that money was to be made in Ireland there came a new rush of settlers, and there was soon let loose on the country a flood of speculators. Government servants were fain to join in their plunder. One of them "was contented to inhabit that barbarous corner only to do good among the savage people"[2]—in other words he had got a great demesne for his portion with a fair ancient castle. "He came hither with a small male, but he cometh home with his trussing coffers,"[3] was
1535. the record of a rapid official tour—"at least 16 or 20 hobbies, the worst worth 5 marks and 3 or 4 caste of hawks, and as for privy stuff, God knows what: . . . he will probably endeavour to come again."

It is the driving power of traders which gives an ominous character to the wars of the sixteenth century. The exploitation of Ireland by violence signalised the rise of a new commercial England. Its final success has been seen in a ruin and poverty without parallel in civilised Europe.

[1] Car. i. 85. [2] C.S.P. 1581, 334. *v.* app. [3] Car. i. 66. *v.* app.

When Henry VIII. first turned his attention to Ireland it was evident that earlier methods of securing Irish trade and profits for the English had generally failed. The policy had been inaugurated long before, but there had been no sufficient force behind it.

Old laws had forbidden to the mere Irish any inland trade. Irish enemies of our Lord the King, a statute of Henry VI.[1] complained, raise 1429.
and hold amongst them different fairs and markets to which sundry merchants, liege Englishmen, go and repair, and some send their merchandise to the said enemies by their servants or people called *laxmen*, and there sell and buy divers merchandises and things vendible, whereout the said enemies take great customs and benefits, to their great profit, and depression of all the boroughs and trading towns and liege subjects: "it is agreed and established that henceforth no manner of merchant, nor any other liege person, shall go nor resort *in time of peace nor of war*, to any manner of fair, market, nor other place among the said enemies with merchandises or things vendible, nor send the same to them, unless it be to redeem some prisoner from them who may be the King's liege man." Any such trader was to be held a felon. The Irish towns remonstrated against the officious protection of the government: their petition 1435.
urged that so great was the emigration of the

[1] Tr. Rel. to Ire. St. Kilk. p. 115; Gilb. Vice. 327, 331.

English out of Ireland that the "few liege people" left were not "sufficient to victual the cities of Waterford, Cork, and Limerick," nor the walled towns Kilkenny, Ross, Wexford, Kinsale, Youghal, Clonmel, Kilmallock, Thomastown, Carrick, Fethard, Cashel, and many others, "whereby the said countries and towns are on the point to be famished." All of them united in desiring the forbidden Irish trade. The Earl of Desmond
1464. being deputy, a Dublin parliament suspended the Acts against commerce[1] and licensed towns to traffic with "Irish enemies"; but again the jealousy of English politicians and merchants
1480. triumphed, and once more the government raised the cry[2] that Irish merchants, lately stocked with store of goods by the concourse of English merchants in Irish land, have of late times injured the merchants of Athboy, Kells, Faure, Mullingar, Oldcastle, and other ancient English market-towns, to wit they have commenced markets in the country of O'Reilly, and the country of O'Farrell, at Cavan, Granard, Longford, and other places, which if they be long continued will cause great riches to the King's enemies. It was again enacted that no traders should carry merchandise to the borders, or visit markets in Irish territories, and that any man guilty of such a crime should forfeit his goods, and his body at the King's

[1] Gilbert, 379.

[2] Tr. Rel. to Irel. Kilk. St. 117.

pleasure. Monasteries alone were allowed to traffic with their country estates.

It was a part of the general policy of depressing Irish activity to keep the Irish penned back into their own territories. Irish prelates, being held 1416.
peers of the realm, were forbidden to bring any Irish attendants, rebels to the king, to parliaments or councils, where they might become acquainted with the secrets and state of the English, to the peril of lawful liege people.[1] Irishmen were 1413.
voided out of England, except only graduates, clergy, and merchants; and later all people born 1422.
in Ireland were ordered to depart, unless they were graduates or married to Englishwomen.[2] It has been commonly supposed that the rejected burghers and artisans were "undesirables," carrying to an orderly England their native riotousness. The story of the Bristol weavers,[3] and probably the hoopers, shows the whole matter to have been an English trade strike against Irish competition. Nor was the rioting on the side of the Irish dealers, to judge by a petition from the Parliament in 1429.
Ireland that their merchants travelling[4] from Chester to Coventry, Oxford, and London, be protected against beating, robbery, and imprisonment on the part of English traders, a

[1] 4 H. v. c. vi.

[2] 1 H. v. c. viii.; 1 H. vi. c. iii.; Gilb. Viceroys, 308.

[3] P. 144.

[4] Fac. Nat. MSS. iii. xxxix.

course of violence on which the petition had no effect.[1]

We may note that this remonstrance was drawn up in the same year as the Act that forbade merchants in Ireland to go to any Irish fair or market whatever. Felons if they took the Irish road, beaten and imprisoned if they carried their wares to England, such was the legal lot of all who were infected with the air of Ireland.

Another disability laid on the Irish proved
1464. strangely enduring. A statute of Edward IV. ordered that "all residing within the counties of Meath, Dublin, and Kildare (namely the territories to which the power of the king of England was then restricted), should adopt an English surname—either from a town, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skrine, Cork, Kinsale, or from some colour, as Black, White, Brown; or from some trade, as Smith, Carpenter; or from an office, as Cook, Butler; and that their posterity should retain that name in future time."[2] Thus an Irishman of the Pale, or "subject," who abandoned the customs, dress, language, the games and the songs, the laws of his people, and the very remembrance and name of an

[1] Cal. Dub. Rec. i. 322, A.D. 1466.

[2] Lynch, Cam. Ev. iii. 173; 5th Ed. IV. c. 3, Ir. St. The German de Renzi was only allowed to take land and live in Ireland on the condition that he should not take an Irish name, c. 1600. *v.* app.

Irishman was alone (so far as English law went) counted worthy to trade and make a living. Such was the humiliation and treachery demanded for such a bribe. This statute only confirmed the practice of two centuries before, by which Irishmen received license to use English law, and therefore trade in towns as burgesses, under names in which all sign of the Irish sept, or even of Irish descent, was often obliterated. We 1279-
find among these grants such names as Gerald 1305.
FitzJohn, Maurice de Lessan, Roger of Newcastle, Hugh Kent, William Brown, Philip de Seche, and the like. There is no telling how many mayors and councillors and merchants of the towns were allowed to use their ability and industry if they did it in the name and to the honour of another people. For centuries Irishmen were driven into the same melancholy disguise. "Whenever," wrote Dr. Lynch 1640.
200 years after the statute, "the vicissitudes of war gave the ascendancy to the English, many of the Irish adopted names conformable to the English fashion. . . . Thus, the Sinnachs called themselves Fox; the Mac-anghobhann, Smith; the Galbhain, White; the Brannach, Walsh; which are merely translations of the Irish name. I knew one of the Dalbhans, a tavern keeper in Dublin, who changed his name into 'Painter,' in order to conceal his Irish name under an English one of precisely the same signification";

and in the 250 years that followed, even to our own day, Irish names honoured in every State in Europe, were too often counted a shame, and withdrawn, changed, hidden, in every country where English was spoken.[1]

In spite of the legislation of 300 years, Irish trade survived, and even flourished. Business men, however, had now entered the field, and the methods of the sixteenth century were more practical and vigorous. Tudor sovereigns needed for their conquest a larger share of Irish profits. Henry VIII. passed an act for the resumption of his customs in the sea ports; and "more reason is that the king should have it being his own."[2] Mary complained that the Irish chiefs still levied abundant taxes of their people and kept them ready to do their will in all things, while the arrears of rents claimed by the Crown were notably great: it angered her to see Irish trade not yet suppressed: "what

[1] 4 M. pp. 1123 n., 1301 n., 1400 n.; Tribes of Hy-Fiachra, 189, 191, 201, 229, 244, 258, 264, 273, 275, etc. Actual instances down to our own days are known to every one who has any knowledge of Irish life. The English indeed, while they profited by the extinguishing of Irish names, disliked to be reminded of their policy. "Another Dowdal of the name of John," Ware wrote, "was lately living, and commonly called Dorrell: For it is a practice among the Romish ecclesiastics of Ireland to assume names different from those of their birth, *in order to persuade foreigners* that the persecution is so severe in that country, that they dare not with safety appear in public without disguising their persons and names, *the contrary of which is manifestly true.*" Ware's Writers, 94.

[2] St. Pap. II. iii. 370, 404.

great commodities of the realm be vented out to foreign ports is well known."[1] Elizabeth and her chief minister added to their interest in the royal dues enterprise in commercial ventures. Cecil was promoter and shareholder of the Russia Company; Elizabeth held shares in the Gold Coast trade on the highest grounds—when the Spaniards and Portuguese remonstrated against unfair English invasion of their trade in W. Africa and Brazil, Cecil answered that they did so to oppose the Pope's claim to give away kingdoms much more than from any profit they expected to get.[2] The same argument would serve for Ireland. There was to be a "thorough conquest,"[3] or, as Elizabeth preferred to term it, "a godly conquest." The matter was committed to traders and speculators, who had private interests to gratify as well as imperialist ambitions, and a new trade war was now opened by sea and land.

A realm, Cecil declared, "can never be rich that hath not an intercourse and trade of merchandise with other nations,"[4] and this lack was to be the lot of Ireland. Competition of Irish mariners had long been condemned: Lord Justice D'Arcy sailed round Ireland with a fleet of 56 vessels, and plundered the islands 1334.

[1] Car. i. 254-5; Hume's Burghley, 83, 144.

[2] Ib. 117-8; Engl. Hist. Rev., Oct. 1905, p. 260.

[3] C.S.P. 1553, 130. [4] Des. Cur. Hib. 45.

of the O'Briens,[1] guardians of Galway harbour;
1339. and an admiral was appointed for the Irish seas to arrest traders with the Irish;[2] while
1361. English merchants were given leave by statute to come unto Ireland with their merchandise and return with their merchandise without fine or ransom, saving to the king his ancient customs and duties.[3] Special protection was given to alien
1465. merchants.[4] An Act of Edward IV.[5] deplored the prosperity of Irish commerce, and recounted how foreign vessels in great numbers were used to go fishing among the Irish, in divers parts of Ireland, by which the enemies were greatly advanced and strengthened, as well in victuals, as harness, armour, and other necessaries, and large tributes of money were given by such vessels to the Irish from day to day to the great augmentation of their power and force, against the King's honour and wealth, and to the utter destruction of his land. It was ordered therefore that no foreign vessel should fish in Irish waters without leave of the lord deputy.

This law was of course unheeded, but with the rapid growth of English shipping under Henry VIII. the merchants took in hand themselves to capture the Irish trade. Pirate vessels
1548. hung round the coasts—ships of sea adventurers,

[1] Hard. Gal. 319.
[2] Rym. v. 113; Gilb. 250.
[3] 34th Ed. III. c. 17.
[4] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 170.
[5] 5th Ed. IV. c. 6, Ir. St.

Smiths and Thompsons, Whiteheads and Stevensons, and the like, between whom and the southern towns there was animated war.[1] Hard fighters and cunning dealers, English rovers had the reputation of using their shipping for no other purpose than to harass the trade of other peoples in the narrow seas, and "obstruct the utility of commerce throughout all Christendom." They plundered the fishing boats off the Irish coast, robbed the barks from France, Spain, and Portugal, and sold the stolen wares in Ireland. The Irish revolt against the king's bad money seems to have given them a footing on the coast: the captain of a pinnace married the aunt of Barry Oge who refused the bad money, and dwelt in his castle and stopped Kinsale harbour, suffering no victuals 1548
to come to its people. Others do much harm to Cork and the whole line of coast: they haunt the haven mouth, and will be like enough to take them over; and so terrified the mayor that they 1549.
were refreshed with victual and were making of ordnance within the city. Desmond's protection, 1562.
the towns said, was their only hope.[2]

The English "pirates," in fact, that haunted the coasts in the time of Henry VIII., were but the skirmishing advance guards of the

[1] C.S.P. 1548, 80, 83; 1549, 100; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 412; *v.* Green's Town Life, i. 88-96.

[2] C.S.P. 1562, 190, 192, 196, 214.

greater fleets to come, for the royal navy was now rapidly increasing. Cecil's strong common sense preserved him from all illusions. "Neither train them up in wars," he was used to say, "for he that sets up to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian";[1] and sea-rovers trained on the coasts of Guinea and Barbary and Brazil merited and earned the hate of Europe at that time—"corsairs and sea-robbers," "a company of thieves," so went their reputation. Mary had twenty-two ships. Elizabeth ordered twenty-eight more to be built in five years, and turned a large number of merchantmen into warships. In 1562 she had 20,000 fighting men ready for sea-service
1561. alone. In the first years of her reign she was prepared to shatter Irish commerce by means more forcible than statutes. No sooner had her deputy, as she supposed, secured Ulster by the
1567. murder of Shane O'Neill, than she sent orders to bring the commerce of Munster "into our own people's hands."[2] An English fleet under Sir W. Winter lay about Baltimore to keep off the Spaniards. The greatest of Elizabeth's seamen were among the destroyers—Grenville, Frobischer, Raleigh, Courtenay, Rawson, Gilbert. They were all on the same errand as the old

[1] Eng. Hist. Rev., 1905 Oct., 671-2; ib. 1906 July; Hume's Burghley, 25.

[2] C.S.P. 1567, 335. *v.* app.

pirates. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (of all men, said Raleigh, that ever he heard the most feared by the Irish people) laid down the policy—to destroy 1573.
the trade with Spain,[1] and take it for themselves. For this he alone was to levy custom of the Spaniards and Biscayans, no Irishman to share those rents. He was to be Admiral of the Seas, and to have power to press from the defrauded people the fishermen and mariners who were to complete their ruin and establish English traders. He and his company were to have for themselves Baltimore and all lands and islands they could take from the wild Irish and other such rebels, and "to have granted to me and my partners the privilege and only traffic with the lords and people of Ireland for such Irish wares and commodities as is now traded by the Spaniards and Irishmen only." The scheme had been preparing for some half dozen years; trade and politics cunningly intermingled.

A fatal blow was at the same time struck at the foreign commerce in wine by lord deputy Sidney. An old law had ordered that wine and all other liquors were only to be sold by English measures, 1450.
but there was no impost on it. The king might levy 12d. out of every 20s. worth of wares brought into or out of Ireland except wine and oil.[2] By Sidney's law a subsidy was granted to Elizabeth of 40s. per tun on wine of Spain or

[1] Car. i. 423. [2] 15th Hen. VII. c. i., Ir. St.

the Levant, and 26s. 8d. on French wine; but it must be imported in "subjects' vessels"[1] 1569. or the subsidy was doubled—in other words, Spaniards and mere Irish were to be driven out of the trade by ruinous charges, and all commerce given to "subjects," or men of English name. And the law was backed up by fleets and armies till no wine at all came into Galway, and the southern ports were ruined.[2]

The annihilation of inland industries was to match the ruin of outland commerce. In one case the attack failed. Irish whiskey, already 1150. known in the twelfth century, was choice enough 1584. to be sent as a present to Lady Walsingham.[3] It does not seem to have been much drunk by the poor country people or by Irish soldiers out for war: water and buttermilk were the drink of these hardy livers. An English observer wrote[4] that among the wildest and most savage Irish he had never seen or heard of the degraded drunkenness of the Germans. A witty proverb gives an Irish view of the matter: "Three sorrowful ones of an alehouse: the man who gives the feast, the man to whom it is given, the man who drinks without being satiated."[5] Queen Mary (moved possibly by a

[1] 11th Eliz. sess. 4, c. i., Ir. St. [2] See p. 211.
[3] FitzG. Limerick, i. 185; C.S.P. 1584, 518.
[4] Hol. vi. 14.
[5] Triads, K. Meyer; Moran's Archbishops, 91.

fantastic philanthropy towards the inferior race she was endeavouring to extirpate) ordered that aqua-vitae should not be made[1] without license of 1556. the deputy under the great seal, save by peers and gentlemen, or freemen in boroughs for their own use. But this legislation broke down: the country, the English planters said,[2] hath plenty 1590. of grain whereof this aqua-vitae is made, a drink of necessity to be used in that moist and cold country, and the statute has not been used as the late deputies and the judges have been unwilling to put it in force. There was no profit for the English in this law, but considerable inconvenience, so the Irish industry in this one case was allowed to survive.

With the cloth and linen trade it was another matter. "If," said a later deputy, "they should manufacture their own wools, which grow to very great quantities, we should not only lose the profit we made now by indraping their wools, but . . . it might be feared they would beat us out of the trade itself by underselling us, which they were well able to do,"[3] as they had shown in Bruges.

[1] Ir. St. 3rd and 4th Ph. and M. c. vii.

[2] C.S.P. 1590, 373.

[3] Strafford's Letters (Dublin, 1740), ii. 19. Davies, whose object was to show that the Irish had no industry or wealth till English lawyers came to their help, spoke as ignorantly of their trade as of their tillage: "the greatest profit did arise by the cocquet of hides; for wool, and wool-felts were ever of little value in this kingdom." Davies, 31, D. 1787.

A long and bitter conflict marked the cloth manufacture. In the slave-trade of Bristol we find the most terrible proof of its violence. For Bristol, pushing on at all costs its woollen trade, looked across the water to the trained workers of Ireland, rivals of Catalonians and Florentines, and for "profit provoked and stirred up divers merchants and others to bring into the town strangers and aliens *not born under the king's obeisance but rebellious, which hath been sold to them as it were heathen people*, who were received and put in occupation of the craft of weavers: and these strangers and aliens were so greatly multiplied and increased within the town of Bristol that the king's liege people within the town and in other parts were vagrant and unoccupied, and may not have their labour for their living."[1] These weavers were clearly kidnapped from Irish districts where the native industry was in full strength, and it was not for his disorder the Irishman was driven from the loom in Bristol, but for his competition as a skilled workman with "the
1439. king's liege people" of England. It was probably for the same reason that the hoopers were ordered to take no rebel of Ireland or alien as apprentice, and to void all Irish servants or aliens forthwith.[2]

The war between the English and the Flemish

[1] Lit. Red Book of Bristol, ii. 128. [2] Ib. ii. 163.

dealers in wool and cloth gathered strength under Henry VII.[1] English merchants, pressing on the sale of their cloth in the Netherlands, wanted both to shut all Irish cloth out of the market and to secure the whole stock of Irish wool for their own weavers. The charter of Henry VIII. to Galway[2] forbade the export of linen and woollen goods from there. The quarrel reached its height under Elizabeth, when the Spanish governor forbade English cloth to come into the Flanders market, and Flanders wool to be brought to England, and exports from Flanders to be carried in English ships.[3] In this crisis the English, dreading that Irish enterprise should find its opportunity, were the more resolved to seize all Irish wool, bar Irish cloth out of the Flemish markets, and suppress Irish shipping. Hence the sending of great captains to seize the Munster trade, in the interest of English manufacturers and merchants. Elizabeth ordered[4] that no one should export cloth or stuff made in Ireland except a merchant living in a staple town, with, however, a special exception in favour of English merchants or strangers who might receive cloth in exchange for their own wares and take it away with them. Mean-

1545.

1563-1564.

1571.

[1] Town Life, Green, i. ch. iii. *v.* app.

[2] Hard. Gal. 82-3, App. xxi.

[3] Hume's Burghley, 151-2.

[4] 13th Eliz. c. 1, Ir. St.

while great quantities of yarn were carried to
1522. England. The parliament in Dublin[1] forbade
1537. 1550. the export of woollen and linen yarn, which
1569. only "encouraged idleness" in Ireland, and on
1577. the faith of the keeping of their yarn at home, and the forbidding of private licenses to export it,[2] Richard Fyan, alderman of Dublin, set up six looms of linen and woollen yarn at the old nunnery called the Hogges. English dealers, however, by special licenses transported wool for the English manufacturers, and when they had broken the weaving trade complained that the Irish were naturally given to idleness.[3]

Lord deputy Sidney made the last attempt to save, as he said, "the manufacture of commodities within the country"[4] by an Act which
1569. not only forbade the export of yarn unwrought, but restrained the deputies for ever from granting any licenses for its carriage over sea. His effort was vain. The queen was besieged for patents to bring Irish yarn to Manchester, where 4000 hands were employed in weaving. Mr. Moore got leave to export 3000 packs of
1572. linen yarn in five years,[5] which was opposed by Dublin and Drogheda till their officers were thrown into prison. Moore was to pay them no cus-

[1] C.S.P. 1550, 108; 13th H. VIII. c. 2, Ir. St.; 28th H. VIII. c. 17, Ir. St.; 11th Eliz. Sess. 3, c. 10, Ir. St.; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 7.
[2] C.S.P. 1549, 99. *v.* app. [3] Bagwell, ii. 177.
[4] Sid. Let. 159. [5] C.S.P. 1572, 474; Bagwell, ii. 178.

tom, and the looms that had been set up for weaving in Ireland on the faith of a late statute would be stopped and many men ruined. Elizabeth tried to compromise by reducing the amount to 200 packs, but seven of the chief lawyers in Dublin declared that her letters patent were waste paper as against an act of parliament. Tremayne, Sidney's secretary, made a settlement, and Dublin and Drogheda prayed Burghley to intercede against any such patents in future.

Petitions from Ireland had no effect. Sidney protested against a license to Christopher Hatton.[1] Lord Chancellor Gerrard begged a license in the 1577. name of his eldest son at Harrow.[2] On his father's death, young Gerrard bargained with the 1581. Dublin merchants to sell his patent,[3] driving the bargain by seizing yarn transported without his license, and pressing his uncle, the Master of the Rolls, into the service: Walsingham made £3000 profit in the matter before, after a 1585. ten years' struggle, the license was closed owing 1592. to the abuses of the dealers. They had pitilessly drained Ireland of its yarn, and "fully accomplished" in their hasty greed the number of packs licensed, though they should not have run

[1] C.S.P. 1577, 103.

[2] Car. ii. 130, 350; C.S.P. 1577, 104.

[3] C.S.P. 1582, 366, 373, 384, 400, 560; 1589, 280; 1592, 457, 462.

out for another seven years[1]—the deceits of one dealer alone amounting to £2900 lost to the queen.

1592. Lord deputy Fitzwilliam, noted for his corruption, interfered, not for the protection of the people under his rule, but to transfer the yarn profits into his own hands. He proposed to undertake the export himself, 6000 packs in eight years, and so evade Sidney's beneficent Act; and to smooth the way would give half to Sir Robert Cecil. In that exploited land there was still yarn enough, he wrote plausibly, for him to promise the queen "much more than £1000 a year"[2] on the export, with sufficient to maintain the poor weavers left in Ireland: "The deputy," he falsely wrote, "suffereth some portion to be transported by Her Majesty's license *until this country may provide sufficient to work the same here*." The suggestion of the incapacity of Ireland for the weaving trade was as ingenious as hypocritical. Fitzwilliam was only completing the destruction already wrought by deliberate purpose. "The benefit growing upon the licenses of linen yarn comes in daily, and I think will prove no less profitable to Her Majesty than formerly I wrote of."[3] His desired monopoly was checked by the arrival of one Williams from Caermarthen with a queen's

[1] C.S.P. 1592, 462, 465. *v.* app. [2] C.S.P. 1592, 457, 462.
[3] C.S.P. 1592, 519, 578.

license to export: if that had been let alone, said Fitzwilliam, he could have raised the queen's profits very shortly to £2000 a year on his increased transportation of linen yarn.

The figures shew the extent of the woollen and linen trades in Ireland before their ruin by English manufactures. Sidney's Act to preserve the most flourishing of Irish industries had thus passed into utter oblivion before the energy of the English speculators and the policy of the government. "Here now, lastly," deputy Perrot had asked, "doth the *old common objection*[1] oppose itself, requiring an answer, whether it be safety or danger for England to have Ireland reformed, lest growing to civility and strength it should cast off the yoke." "Good government," he answers, "breeds wealth, and wealth obedience." Such a policy, however, was held too dangerous, and English rulers preferred other methods of subjection. "To serve your Majesty completely 1633.
well in Ireland, we must not only endeavour to enrich them," wrote Strafford, "but make sure still to hold them dependent upon the Crown, and not able to subsist without us, which will be effected by wholly laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth or stuff there, and by furnishing them from this kingdom, and then making your Majesty sole merchant of all salts on that side: for thus shall

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 33 n.; Car. ii. 370.

they not only have their clothing, the improvement of all their native commodities (which are principally preserved by salt) and their victual itself from hence; (strong ties and enforcements upon their allegiance and obedience to your Majesty)."[1] "Besides, in reason of state, so long as they did not indrape their own wools, they must of necessity fetch their clothing from us, and consequently in a sort depend upon us for their livelihood, and thereby become so dependent upon this Crown, as they could not depart from us without nakedness to themselves and children."[2]

The political question of Irish dress was used in the same way for the benefit of the English trader. No doubt officials in their despatches abused Irish garments as betokening savages, but in practice they commended them.[3] In Elizabeth's wars her soldiers were clothed, as far as possible, in Irish dress as more convenient and suitable, and only distinguished in battle from the "savages" by a red cross on back and front. So the spectacle was seen of English soldiers in Irish dress tearing cloaks and tunics from Irish men as treasonable, and from women the linen rolls that covered their

[1] Strafford's Letters (Dublin, 1740), 16 July, 1633.

[2] Strafford's Letters (Dublin, 1740), vol. ii. p. 19; 1636, July 25.

[3] C.S.P. 1584, 512, 519.

heads.[1] It is evident that the Acts against Irish dress were not designed in the sole interests of "civilisation."[2] Their first intention was by an outward and visible sign to mark out the Irish race for destruction: when the crude idea of physical extermination was abandoned, they were to be used in such manner "that the next generation will in tongue and heart and everywhere else become English, so that there will be no difference or distinction but the Irish Sea betwixt us."[3] We may gather how the system worked from the scene at Tullagher chapel, where the de Freynes in the eighteenth century ordered the dress of the people at their pleasure, cutting off the long hair of the men and regulating the

[1] Laws which allowed any one to seize the goods and person of a man who was found wearing a mantle, or who was not shaven every fortnight (cf. St. 25 H. VI. c. 4; 28 H. VIII. c. 20) were no doubt welcome to famishing troops recommended by the Government to wear Irish dress.

[2] "I never heard," Lynch commented, "that Rome compelled by law any of her conquered provinces to abandon their own dress or adopt her own." Camb. Ev. ii. 195.

[3] Davies, 202, D. 1787. Dr. Lynch saw the end of that melancholy battle when the clergy threw their might into the scale, added to the terrors of the soldiers and the influences of respectability. "The more respectable ranks of society had laid aside the braccae before I was born, but neither the threats of judges, nor pecuniary fine, could compel the humbler orders to abandon them altogether. At length, however, before this fatal war broke out in 1641, they were prevailed upon, *partly by the exhortations of the clergy* or of their own accord, to lay them aside." Camb. Ev. ii. 209-11. "It is only within my own days that English dress has been commonly worn," he adds. Camb. Ev. i. 193-5.

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fashion of their coats and breeches, while the ladies saw to the caps and gowns of the women.[1] But behind these reasons lay a practical view to trade, and to replacing Irish industries by English for the benefit of the "mother country." This was well understood at the time. "Barnaby Rich very properly declared 'that he was not such an enemy to the prosperity of Irishmen as to advise them to conform to all English fashions.' Hardly can you find a single carrier going from Chester to Dublin who does not import different fashions of dress, both for men and women, *from England*."[2]

English traders prospered in proportion as the Irish workers suffered. With the decline of manufactures in their own land, Dublin mer-
1582. chants made suits for free import of English cloth.[3] The complaints of the towns and of their burghers forced to take to tillage tell too of the destruction of manufactures and the old exchange of trade. Elizabeth did not die till her work of destruction was done. A few years later it could be urged in the English parliament, as an argument for allowing Irish cattle to be sold in England, that half the money received for them by the Irish was spent in England, as *there is no household stuff used in Ireland but what*

[1] Soc. of Ant. iii. 1854-5, p. 81.

[2] Camb. Ev. i. 195.

[3] C.S.P. 1582, 388, 417; 1591, 416.

comes out of England.[1] The lament of a people rose on the great silence of the land and sea: "Long time now they lie[2] in slumber in Erin's land of heavy grass: that foreigners should at their ease have Ireland is a disgrace to the fair-haired race of Conn."

Politicians had thus developed their project to complete the work of the sword by the poverty and beggary of the people. It was now recognised by practical men that "to enterprise the *whole* 1540. *extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen of the land*, it would be a marvellous sumptious charge and great difficulty."[3] But "poor earth-tillers" of the Irish might be permitted to live, "which be good inhabitants":[4] strong garrisons could hold a people down who had been cast from their independence into diggers of the ground. The plan was explained to Henry VIII. "Take first from them their corn . . . so that 1536. the Irishry shall not live thereupon; then to have their cattle and beasts . . . and then shall they be without corn, victual, or cattle, and thereof shall ensue *the putting in effect* of all these wars against them."[5] A plea being once put forward for the Irish, "Now, if this argument be for the Irishry," replied lord deputy

[1] Davies, xxxii. D. 1737. See Waterford, p. 223. *v.* app.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. MSS. 219. [3] St. P. pt. III. vol. iii. 176.

[4] St. Pap. III. iii. 100, 148, 167, 176-8, 347.

[5] St. Pap. II. iii. 329.

Sidney of the country in his charge, "then to weaken the enemies of the English race is good policy."[1]

The financial relations of the two countries were from the outset deplorable for Ireland.

One of the earliest acts of the English invaders
1210. had been to set up mints at their chief towns, and by royal edict forbid Irish coinage, "the
1336. black money called Turneys," which was used
1339. all over the country and in the towns,. "in deterioration of our sterling money and to our great loss and damage."[2] Irish money was declared in a statute to be "commonly current" even in England and at Calais. "The moneys
1447. called O'Reilly's do increase from day to day,"[3] to the hurt of the King's mint, and passed across the sea in trade, along with "great carriage of Irish plate into England." Edward IV. again
1477. forbade Irish money in England, Wales, and Calais, and men of Waterford were imprisoned for bringing it to Bristol.[4]

The coins, moreover, which Irishmen were forced to receive from London were, by a

[1] Car. ii. 153.

[2] Rym. v. 113; Simon's Irish Coins, App. i. 77-86; 9th Ed. III.; 25th H. VI. c. 6. Ir. St.; 16th Ed. IV. c. 21; *v.* Ware's Antiquities, 204, etc. *v.* app.

[3] Ir. Stat. 35 H. VI. c. 12; Sim. Ir. Coins, App. 78. *v.* app.

[4] Ricart, 47. "They call the Pope their king, and stamp the keys and triple tiara on their coin," wrote a papal nuncio. Letter to Marchioness of Mantua, Aug. 28, 1517, quoted in Life of Marchioness by Cartwright.

curious system, kept debased at least a quarter below the English standard, by a fixed principle of English policy, that money in Ireland should always be kept at a lower value than in England. Three reasons may be suggested. The King saved expense by paying his Irish army in Ireland, not in sterling money, but in a cheaper coin.[1] The English trader could profit by buying with bad money in Ireland and selling for good in England.[2] And a blow was struck at the foreign commerce of Ireland: no foreign merchant, as Ireland men protested, would bring goods where money was light and bad.[3] What is certain is, that there was no point on which the English kings were more determined. Whenever money was decried in England, for whatever reason might prevail there, its value had to fall in Ireland, simply to keep it always at the lower rate required by the interests of the English. For those interests the price of money in Ireland, with her Continental trade, was made to hang on its value in England, with which the trade of Ireland was comparatively small.

One great effort was made by Ireland to free herself from this bondage to the British treasury. 1459. When the island was declared independent under the Duke of York, she set up a new national coinage.[4] The old coins were pronounced void.

[1] Car. ii. 90 n. [2] *v.* Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 9.
[3] Gib. Cork, i. 169. [4] *v.* app.

Normandy and Guienne, said the Act of Parlia-
1460. ment,[1] "when they were under the obedience of the realm of England, yet were no less separate from the laws and statutes of England, and had also coin for themselves, different from the coin of England; so Ireland, though it be under the obedience of the same realm, is, nevertheless, separate from it, and from all the laws and statutes of it, only such as are there by the lords, spiritual and temporal, and commons, freely admitted and accepted of in parliament or great council." The new mintage[2] was "utterly damned" by the English, and the country flooded anew with
1470. cheap money, reduced by Act to half value.[3] The
1472. mayor of Cork was ordered to try three coiners, or execute the law on them as traitors attainted if they did not appear, and the mint was to
1478. remain in Dublin alone, with a promise of coinage of the fineness of England.[4]

The promise was forgotten. "New coin was introduced into Ireland, *i.e.* copper," say the
1540. Annals, "and the men of Ireland were obliged

[1] Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii., St. of Kilk. 4 n.

[2] Smith's Waterf. 130; Gib. Cork, i. 184.

[3] Tr. Rel. to Ire. St. Kilk. 21 n. Now as the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commons of Waterford are daily encumbered for want of small coins for change of greater, it is enacted at their petition that the above-mentioned small coins be struck at Waterford in a place called Dondory, *alias* Reynold's-Tower. 1463. Smith's Waterford, 129-30, 3 ed. iv. 39.

[4] Gilb. Vice. 599.

to use it as silver."[1] This was the money of Henry VIII., which bore in solemn mockery the print of a harp[2]—a money little better than brass, not above 4 oz. fine and 8 alloy, though according to the indenture they were to be 8 oz. fine and 4 alloy. Under Edward VI., church plate, "crosses and such like," was 1549.
melted down for the Mint in Dublin Castle;[3] but in spite of a proclamation at Galway,[4] the Irish "neighbours" refused to receive the new-coined money, as well as the Earl of Thomond and his cousins and his sons. It was a misery that affected the English in Ireland even more, they declared, than the Irish. "The Irish 1551.
are in best case, for he hath least need of money, for he careth only for his belly and that not delicately. . . . We that are stipendiaries must live upon our stipends, and buy with our money which no man esteemeth."[5] Prices went up beyond belief: deputy Croft declared corn had risen from 6s. 8d. to 30s.; six herrings were sold for a groat. The English merchants profited by the exchange, and "utterly impoverished all the king's subjects" by the "unreasonable prices" they paid in the bad money for all kinds of merchandise.[6] "All things were in such dearth as the like hath not been seen." "The clamour

[1] 4 M. p. 1499. [2] Car. i. 171-2; Simon's Irish Coins, p. 33.
[3] C.S.P. 1549, 99, 111, 114. [4] C.S.P. 1548, 81, 84
[5] C.S.P. 1551, 116, 125. [6] C.S.P. 1551, 116.

of the poor artificers who live in towns and are reduced to extreme hunger by means of the great scarcity sounded continually" in the deputy's ears.[1]

The anger of the Pale was one of the signs of a new spirit in Ireland—the forcing of the "loyal" English settlers into the current of national life by the neglect in London of their necessities. Lords and merchants protested against orders to accept bad money "even though it be as base as counters." We hear of
1551. the name of "Ireland men," or "Commonwealth men," in the struggle to assert their country's claims to just dealing. They knew not why this realm should have worse money than England,[2] and believed that the same reason that persuaded the Council to make the money fine in England should serve likewise for Ireland:[3] the baseness of the coin increaseth
1552. idleness, decayeth nobility, one of the principal keys of a commonwealth, and bringeth magistrates in contempt and hatred of the people.[4] The inhabitants of the towns were called together to debate[5] on the dearth that had followed the bad money: and an allied movement began which was not unlike that 350 years later which followed the enquiry into the Financial Relations

[1] C.S.P. 1552, 125.
[2] C.S.P. 1551, 118-9.
[3] C.S.P. 1551, 121.
[4] C.S.P. 1551, 122.
[5] C.S.P. 1551, 121.

of the two countries. Treasury officials would apparently have persuaded the townsmen that their grievance was merely imaginary, a matter of words, for that money "is for none other use but for exchange" and should be taken for the value proclaimed. "It followeth not," they answered, " . . . that we should esteem anything otherwise than reason would we did esteem it. . . . If we would use lead to make armour or edge tools, our labour were in vain. If we should use iron to make money, it would . . . rust, canker, break, and be filthy." The country was united on the fiscal question, "the first and principal cause" of the dearth, "without remedy whereof it is thought impossible to set a stay"; and a 1552.
Common Supplication[1] was sent to Edward VI. from the Council, Nobility, Gentlemen, Merchants, and Attorneys for the towns, praying that the money in Ireland may be of like valuation, weight, and fineness as in England. New promises of the king followed, new discussions, new envoys to the mint.[2] But the privy council in London held firm, demanding whether such equality was expedient for the Sovereign, and whether the Irish council was talking of what was profitable for the people, or for the king.[3]

[1] C.S.P. 1552, 122.
[2] C.S.P. 1552, 127.
[3] C.S.P. 1552, 120.

The protest of Ireland went for nothing.[1] Mary throughout her reign coined harp money at the Tower of London.[2] "Everything that was
1559. worth a penny is now worth four"; the very deputy required a higher salary "because of the great dearth of all things here."[3] Elizabeth had
1560. a new crying down of Irish money,[4] and refiners sent to the mint to calculate how the queen could gain £2000 by refining (adulterating?) and re-coining the 60,000 lbs. weight of Irish harps supposed to be in Ireland.[5] She promised to amend the baseness of the moneys "very grievous unto our subjects," but there was no intention of changing the old policy. Merchants refused to send to the treasury the old coins[6] —better at least than those likely to follow them—and continued to freight them out of the realm,[7] along with the good Spanish gold and silver money, in exchange for their foreign trade.
1561. Money was sent over from England "now newly coined with the stamp of our arms of Ireland" —each 12d. in Ireland to be rated at 9d. in

[1] Even a discount for exchange of bad money was made an accusation against the Irish of barbaric ignorance. "Most of the coin in Ireland, *and that which the people generally desire*, is base money made of copper or brass, *they will not change you an angel into that money without iiiid. gains.*" Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 9.

[2] Soc. of Ant., 1855, 357-63; C.S.P. 1560, 152, 166.

[3] Car. i. 283-6. [4] Car. ii. 93; C.S.P. 1560, 162-5.

[5] C.S.P. 1560, 166; Car. i. 295; C.S.P. 1560, 159, 162-3.

[6] C.S.P. 1561, 168, 169. [7] C.S.P. 1561, 164.

England, and 4d. in Ireland at 3d. in England, and vessels freighted from Ireland were searched to seize any money in them and to arrest offenders."[1]

Promises endlessly repeated issued in the continual deception of Irish hopes and the profit of the English traders. A bank was talked of for the exchange of Irish money. A ready reckoner was drawn up for turning it into sterling English.[2] But the misery still deepened. "God keep Sir John of Desmond and base money out of Ireland, yet are they both at the sea side to come over, if bruits be true," wrote lord justice Fitzwilliam.[3] Alderman Ussher of Dublin won credit by "opening a device that seems very feasible for coinage of base money in pence."[4] The shilling shrank to 6d.[5] Sydney noticed that the impost on wines had not increased, "through the small trade of coins in these troublesome years."[6] Amid the distress to get money for commerce, attempts were made by the Irish to coin Spanish money,[7] and an Act was passed against counterfeiting foreign coin.[8] It was

1571.

1572.

1577.

1576.

1586.

[1] C.S.P. 1561, 164. [2] C.S.P. 1565, 267; 1570, 436.

[3] C.S.P. 1571, 460. [4] C.S.P. 1572, 477.

[5] Car. ii. 94. The real was a small Spanish silver coin still used in Mexico and in the United States up to 1850, worth 6¼d.

[6] Sid. Let. 205. *v.* app.

[7] O'Rourke's land was wasted for his refusal to deliver up his coiners. Hol. vi. 398. In Ormond's land were also coiners. Car. ii. 42.

[8] C.S.P. 1576, 93; Hol vi. 398; 28th Eliz. c. 6, Ir. St.

1583. presently proposed to debase the money yet further, leaving but one-fourth part of silver: prices may be doubled, but the "reformation" will recompense the loss treble, as far as the English
1585. treasury was concerned.[1] Lord justice Perrot desired to call in all the half-face money[2] and change it for new made base coin, whereby Her Majesty shall be a great gainer, for she shall have good silver instead of such base coin. Charged by the Queen to set down his opinion how the realm might *with the least charge* be reclaimed from barbarism to a godly government,
1583. "The embasing of coin," the Englishman declared, "can do no harm in Ireland, which is all out of order."[3]

In every detail, in fact, there was discrimination against the Irishman.[4] While a man might
1504. carry without contradiction 6s. 8d. from England to Ireland, no man might take more than 3s. 4d. from Ireland to England. The inconvenience of the financial system may be imagined and the open way to fraud. The long roll of Irish chiefs summoned in turn to London, O'Briens, O'Neills, Clanrickards, Desmonds, and the rest, had to borrow from the deputy for their journey,

[1] Car. ii. 368. [2] Car. ii. 416. [3] Car. ii. 368.

[4] Eng. St. 19th H. VII. The mayor of Cork was commanded to permit the messengers of the bishop of Cork, to carry £100 into England, notwithstanding the prohibition against remitting money out of Ireland; 1317. Tuckey's Cork, 17.

because "there was no money in Ireland"—no money lawful, that is, to buy food or hire a horse at an English inn. And the Deputy would perhaps lend base money, "an hundred pounds sterling[1] in harp grotes in default of other money, for there is no sterling money to be had within this your realm." Without a bank of exchange, without a "ready reckoner," who can tell by what tricks and deceptions the loan melted away, whether on the road or in the terms of repayment. Shane O'Neill knew it well when 1561.
he asked an advance for his journey to London, and with his stinging sarcasm offered to repay the queen in Irish money, then in spite of her frequent promises debased to half its value.[2] "You must come furnished with store of money, 1568.
as there is none to be had here. I have borrowed £40 from the lord justice":[3] so Carew's agent in Dublin wrote to him, who as an Englishman favoured by the Court, was obliged with sterling money. Dublin trade under these conditions was carried on to the benefit of London.[4]

We may wonder that trade survived at all. Indeed the plea of the Cork citizens for their rising was the hardship they underwent in being obliged to take the mixt money of Queen Elizabeth.[5] There was coin in the sea-port towns where

[1] Ir. Sept. 153, 228.
[2] Gil. Viceroys, 398-9.
[3] Car. i. 383.
[4] Car. ii. 400.
[5] Tuckey's Cork, 78.

men traded for ready money,[1] much of it good Spanish money from their foreign business, and there was plate.[2] But "there was utterly no coin stirring in any great lord's house,"[3] nor among the country folk, who followed the old Brehon law that no man but a king was bound to pay in brass, silver, or gold, and exchanged cloth, linen, leather, cattle, for their wine and salt. In spite of all impediments, the Irish still trafficked with Europe. Governors had been accustomed to look to the towns for advances of money; but now, Fitzwilliam complained,
1574. "merchants will rather hazard their money on the seas than lend to the Deputy."[4] "All the treasury your highness sendeth," wrote Sidney, "is issued out of this realm, and so it will be if your highness sent as much as England
1585. breedeth."[5] To destroy this trade a proposal was made to raise every shilling that came from England to 14d., while the Irish shilling was still to be 9d., and gold raised £10 in the £100, so that the Irish merchant could carry out no coin without a loss of 10 per cent.[6]

The financial dealings of Cecil with Ireland did not spring out of economic ignorance. "That

[1] Sid. Let. 24. In 1581 one man paid £50 a year for the loan of £20, and another paid £2 for the loan of £10 for a month. C.S.P. 1581, 319.

[2] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 415, 442.

[3] Ir. Sept. 215, 228, 153.

[4] C.S.P. 1574, 21.

[5] Car. ii. 284, 479-80.

[6] Car. ii. 401.

realm," he used to say, "cannot be rich whose coin is poor and base; nor that hath not intercourse and trade of merchandise with other nations; and that carrieth not out more than it bringeth in":[1] "Religion the life of the soul, rich monies the sinews of our strength, and peace the harvest of our labours and fountain of our wealth."[2] We have seen what religion, rich monies, and peace his rule held for Ireland. English governors themselves noted the misery, poverty, and discontent that followed on their rule, the decay even of their own profits, and grumbled at the frowardness of the wild Irish and "this cursed country": "The secret judg- 1582
ment of God hangeth over this soil causing the best endeavours for reformation to come to nought."[3]

In brief, therefore, we have seen a determined war made to destroy the outland and the inland trade of Irish men. The growing fleet of England and her roving buccaneers dealt with the sea-commerce. Inland industries were forbidden by laws against trading with a man of Irish name, or in an Irish fair, and by shutting the Irish back into their territories as in a prison: and when statutes failed to effect their purpose, a more practical combination was arranged between the planters and the government to secure for the

[1] Desid. Cur. II, 45. [2] Des. Cur. II.
[3] C.S.P. 1582, 366.

English the whole stock of raw material of the country, and to enforce the suppression of every Irish manufacture.[1] If Ireland had been a foreign country it would be possible to understand the war made by England on the commerce and wealth of the people. The matter takes another aspect when this ruin was the deliberate action of a government against its own subjects. Ireland in its relations to England bore in fact the miseries both of an alien state and a subject people. So far as trade went she was treated as an independent and hostile power whose wealth had to be destroyed. But if she attempted in the last resort to protect her interests by appeal to arms, her people were reckoned English subjects, liable to the terrible penalties of "rebellion" and exempted from any protection of the laws of war. The policy was justified to the popular sense by the profits that were

[1] A bill in England to forbid the coming of Irish cattle to England or the sending of coin from England to Ireland (1621) was discussed purely with regard to English interests. As Sir John Davies said, the bill proposed to deal worse with Ireland, which was a member of this crown, than with the Low Countries. Davies, 1787, xxxii-iii. In 1636 the Irish were, Strafford wrote, "discouraged by harder usage than either English or Scotch found. The instances I gave were the imposition of coals, wherein the Irish were not treated as English but as foreigners, by imposing four shillings upon a ton which was full as much as either French or Dutch paid; next that excessive rate set upon a horse or man to be transported forth of this kingdom . . . and lastly eighteen pence set upon every live beast that comes thence." Strafford, 1636. (Letters and Despatches, Dublin, 1740, ii. 20.)

won in the successful pillage of the country. So great in fact was the fame of Ireland among plunderers that, as we see in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, it became part of the polite education of the time to go and "look for islands."

V.

THE TOWNS AND THE CLANS.

THERE were, as we have seen, many forms of attack on the trade of the Irish from the invasion of Henry II. to the wars of Henry VIII. The conflict had been inaugurated by the planting
1200. or occupying of towns. It was a moment of vigorous life for the borough in England, and Henry II. saw in this rising force a new means for completing the conquest of Ireland. The life of a self-contained commune with its chartered right of government gave to the new settlers wherever they were planted a position of defence, and an opportunity for attack. Governed by English law, religiously maintaining English manners, dress, and speech, they would be so many islands of English civilisation lifted above the encompassing sea of Irish life, and outposts of further conquest.

The towns were thus planted out, like the English monasteries, as colonies and fortresses of
1333. the stranger, commissioned "to treat with the Irish enemy and reform them, also to make war on them"—towns such as Galway, Wexford,

Waterford, Kinsale, or New Ross built by Strongbow's daughter and fortified by a great wall,[1] at which the very priests and women had laboured. Special leave had to be given in these municipal fortresses for the mayor and bailiffs to go outside the walls and hold a parley with the Irish, or to go with them in famine or pestilence on pilgrimage to Compostella.[2] Loyal merchants were forbidden to resort to fairs on the enemies' land, and countless Acts passed to ruin Irish rivalry in commerce. They were to be shut out from all direction of trade, and from skilled work: no Irishman might be mayor of a town, or in some cases apprentice to a trade.[3]

The real colonists, those who had been born and meant to live in the country, desired peace to get a living. To them statutes which forbade English settlers to buy and sell with the people of the land[4] meant starvation and ruin. Lords

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. iii. pl. v. *v.* app.

[2] In 1462 Waterford council prayed leave to go out and parley with Irish enemies and English rebels. Tr. Rel. to Ireland ii., St. Kilk. 64 n. In 1472 the mayor and bailiffs were allowed to avoid the city either to parley with Irish enemies or English rebels, or in time of pestilence, or to go in pilgrimage to St. James' in Spain. Another Act (1483) was passed to allow James Rice, mayor, Patrick Mulgan and Philip Bryan, bailiffs, to go in pilgrimage to Compostella. Smith's Waterford, 130, 131; 12, 13 Ed. IV. c. 27; 1 Rich. III. c. 24; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 313.

[3] Hard. Galway, 214; Lenihan's Limerick, 65; *v.* Cal. Dub. Rec. *v.* app.

[4] *v.* app.

and gentlemen busied in the country trade begged for leave, if they were to live at all, that they should hold parleys with the Irish, buy and sell with them, foster, and take Irish tenants, and have Irish minstrels and law-men in their houses. Burghers besieged the Castle for licenses to disobey the statutes. Clonmel, Cashel, and Fethard complained when the Deputy
1567. was warring on the Butlers that they were as people besieged and ready to famish,[1] for all trade and commerce was bereft them, for neither durst the people of the country bring anything in to
1538. them nor they issue out to buy. The merchants of Limerick, appeached of treason[2] for "victualling and maintaining" Morough O'Brien and Irish
1539. rebels, prayed for a special clause[3] in their charter that they may buy and sell with Irishmen at all times. Kilkenny itself asked to trade even with "enemies" and "rebels." Sometimes commerce flourished under the name of philanthropy.
1389. A grant was given by the king to Cork to buy corn, fruit, and victuals because the people would have to leave that desolate place unless they could bring in provisions, and two hundred years later Cork claimed by this old grant to have the privi-
1543. lege of selling enemies' goods in time of war.[4]

[1] Sid. Letters, 19. [2] Car. i. 147.

[3] C.S.P. 1539, 49. Leave was renewed (1416) to Cork, Waterford, and Youghal to buy and sell with Irish enemies. Smith's Waterford, 130; 3 Ed. IV. c. 44. *v.* app.

[4] Tuckey's Cork, 32; C.S.P. 1543, 66, 67.

In monasteries such as All Saints'[1] near Dublin, 1474.
which had a great country trade through its scattered estates, or in towns like Navan and Trim, the shelter of religion was invoked. Trim asked protection for all rebels and enemies coming and going as pilgrims to its Abbey of the Blessed Mary;[2] and the tradition of the hoarded wealth of the place drew hundreds of people within living memory to dig by night at Newtown Priory for the underground passage leading to the high altar with the golden candlesticks not to be touched under pain of death, by which lie two sleeping bishops, who when awakened would give back to their own people the keys of two small chambers, one full of silver and one of gold. The wealth of Navan was not less, with its store of vessels, iron, copper, brass, and gold, a town of luxury and prosperity,[3] due no doubt to the Dublin parliament's protection 1454.
by letters patent from the king to all those, whether rebel or otherwise, who undertook a pilgrimage to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin.

On one plea or another, the first strictness of the laws was slackened. Bye ways were found along which trade could travel without or against English statutes and the towns in fact won rights

[1] Tr. Rel. to Ireland, Kilk. St. 11. *v.* app.

[2] Gilbert, Viceroys, 298; Kilk. Arch. J., Ap. 1873, 388.

[3] 4 M. p. 1453; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1888, 521; *v.* Mullingar, 4 M. 2039.

of barter which Spenser viewed with indignation: "There are also other privileges granted unto most of the corporations there; that they shall not be bound to any other government than their own, that they shall not be charged with any garrisons, that they shall not be travelled forth of their own franchises, *that they may buy and sell with thieves and rebels.*"[1]

The closest relations were gradually established between the town traders and the Irish people, through whose labour alone they existed. Merchants bought up the surrounding estates, or took them on mortgage, and tied the tenants
1429. to furnish to them alone all their wares.[2] In spite
1480. of the laws against dealing with the Irish they
1514. employed agents to traffic in the country, and
1536. through two centuries complaints were sent to
1556. England of the great abuse of the merchants of the haven towns, who "in amity with the Irish rebels" sent servants and factors called "laxmen" or "grey merchants" through all the Irish countries, to buy up Irish wares.[3] In repeated Acts they were accused of thus forestalling the market so that "the decay of the towns is occasioned." But the merchants pursued their country trade, and all efforts to cut them off from their Irish

[1] Spenser, View of Irel., Works, vol. ix. p. 55.

[2] Car. ii. 38, 396; Sid. Let. 90; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 309.

[3] Tr. Rel. to Irel., Kilk. St. 115, 117; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 383; Car. i. 56, 91; C.S.P. 1556, 295; Hard. Galw. 210-12; 33rd H. VIII. cap. 2.

clients were vain. Every December, when ships from France and Spain arrived, their wines were carried in little barrels on horse-back through the Irish countries, by dealers who brought back corn of the old grain or of the new harvest,[1] and horses and beeves then in best condition from the great men and large farmers, and from the cottages stores of woollen and linen cloth and yarn. English as they were supposed to be, the towns in fact drew their wealth wholly from Irish industry. Wexford, for example, some 300 years or more after it had opened its trade of sawn timber with Dublin and its export for ship-building to Scotland, could not supply an 1548.
English officer with four lath-makers: there was only one in the town, for all their laths came to them from MacMurrough's men.[2]

With this close intercourse the towns fell away from their first estate of alien fortresses against the "wild Irish." Burghers and merchants used Irish dress in the very Pale, in Kells, Trim, Navan, Ardee, Dundalk,[3] showing how to the 1498
borders of Dublin itself trade had fallen into Irish hands. A hundred years later "all English, 1578

[1] C.S.P. 1592, 554-5, 563; 1581, 321. The fat cattle cost in winter about 12/. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 14.

[2] C.S.P. 1548, 91, 385; Cal. Dub. Rec. i. 9, 10, 13, 284.

[3] Gilbert, Viceroys, 466. "All the common people of the said half counties that obeyeth the king's laws for the most part be of Irish birth, of Irish habit, and of Irish language." 1515. St. Pap. II. iii. 8. *v.* app.

and for the most part with delight, even in Dublin, speak Irish, and greatly are spotted in manners, habit, and conditions with Irish stains."[1] If the towns held their charters on the express condition that none of the Irish blood or nation shall be of their corporation,[2] it was a condition which they diligently neglected. A long series of Irish mayors marks the roll of Cork—O'Heyns, Meaghs, Murroughs, Terrys, O'Reillys, Creaghs. Sexton, "an Irishman of blood, and (as they say) he useth himself according his nature," was given the freedom of Limerick by the king himself, so as he hath been mayor there contrary to the English statutes and their liberties.[3] Waterford and Galway made Irish artificers and merchants freemen, councillors, and masters in their trades. Irishmen who had taken English names were doubtless found in every town. Men of Norman blood too, intermarried with the Irish till they had themselves become in fact Irish: thus the heads of the great Cork families, even the merchants, kept the title of captains of septs in the deeds of that time.[4] So intimate were the relations of

[1] C.S.P. 1578, 130.

[2] C.S.P. 1549, 103.

[3] St. Pap. III. iii. 107. See also 4 M. p. 1133.

[4] The Roches had gained large estates by marriage with the Kearneys there: Margaret de Barré married Robert Holhganes, who, though he had the surname of an Irish family, was given by the king the freedom of the city (1425). Tuckey's Cork, xxxvi. 36, 37. Irish names occur among the citizens and the officers of Cork—Creagh, Meagh, Murrough, Terry,

town and country that it was the custom of Irish chiefs to send the Tanists to the towns for their schooling. A chance notice tells us of scholars in Limerick—O'Briens, O'Mulrians, and Burkes.[1] The O'Sullivan of Edward's day was "a child 1550.
at school at Waterford."[2] "Sturdy beggars and young fellows pretending themselves to be scholars do daily flock and resort" to Galway from all parts of the kingdom.[3] And when in time of war Irish boys were taken as pledges and hostages from the tribes by the governors and put in the towns for safe-keeping, they found there such friendship[4] that it was thought better to send them to England. The most trusted mediators from the English to the Irish were the merchants of the boroughs. The Anglicised earl

Keary, Anagh, Kerrigan, Heyn, Mahon, O'Morroth, Fagan; some Welsh—Brenaghe, Lawallyn, Fleming, Rice, Cardiff; many of the old Anglo-Irish, Fitzmorris, Archdeacon, Roche, etc. John Moriagh, a citizen, in 1432 was appointed by the king to enquire of treasons.

[1] C.S.P. 1590, 340. "Many Irish gentlemen have withdrawn their sons from school in Limerick, so that they might not be detained as pledges for their fathers upon the landing of the foreign power. These four are the chief of them:

"1. Brian Duff O'Brien, chieftain of Pobblebrien, who hath a very strong fort and castle, called Carrickogonel, a most dangerous place if the enemy were seized thereof.

"2. Conoghour O'Mulrian, chieftain of Owney (Wothny) O'Mulrian, about five miles from Limerick.

"3. Shane O'Mulrian, brother of the said Conoghour.

"4. Richard Burke, of Carikonlis, Esq., J.P., who pretends title to the Lordship of Clanwilliam."

[2] C.S.P. 1587, 342, 344. [3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 474.

[4] Car. ii. 211.

of Clanrickard employed Nicholas Lynch of Galway as agent to collect rents from the Irish on his wide estates.[1] On occasions when lord deputy or president laid aside for a moment the terrors of the sword and opened negotiations with the Irish of Connacht, they were forced to use merchants
1589. as their only possible envoys to the people. If the Englishman's broken word and his treacherous safe-conduct no longer won any faith, the Galway merchants went freely round the Irish tribes, conferred with them and made arrangements for composition and peace. The Irish yielded to their persuasion with complete confidence; "so Lord Burghley may see what those rude barbarous men would do if they were governed by loving justice without raven."[2]

It might be supposed that true English loyalty would have been found in Dublin, a stranger city by foundation, the head-quarters of the foreign officials and English trade, and commonly called then the Irish or Young London.[3] Dublin was to be the English bulwark against the Irish —the rallying city for the men of the "better race." Mayor and bailiffs were accustomed to forsake the council chamber for the slaughter of the Irish, and "no council was held" when they rode out with the deputy to war on O'Byrnes

[1] C.S.P. 1576, 141, 228.
[2] C.S.P. 1589, 260; 1590, 300-1.
[3] Hol. vi. 21-2. *v.* app.

and O'Conors "carrying the ragged and jagged black standard, almost through tract of time worn to the hard stumps, being never displayed but when they are ready to enter into battle and come to the shock."[1] The city had made valiant attempts to keep its blood pure. Men of the Irish nation might not be admitted to the franchise. There were to be no Irish apprentices, an order repeated four times in twenty years. All Irish householders of less than 12 years' standing were to depart or pay "ransom" as Irish enemies; also all nuns and clerks and servants and ottaghys, beggars, or wandering Irish minstrels, and no scholar was to walk at night begging for fear of the stocks.[2] No Irishman nor any man with a beard above his mouth was to be lodged within Dublin walls, nor his horse nor his horseboy. No corn was to be sold to any Irishman, nor bread nor ale nor victuals.[3] None was to be of the goldsmith's fraternity who was not born of English parents. If we compare these rules with the laws of Waterford, Galway, Cork, we can judge of the pride of the English capital in Ireland.

1448. 1454-1475. 1557. 1455. 1458-1558 1461

But Dublin could not do without the Irish any more than any other town in Ireland. So in spite of legal prohibitions, Irishmen came

[1] Hol. vi. 23.

[2] Cal. Rec. Dub, i. 292, 331, 352, 467, 280, 287, etc., "ottaghys" or "holtaghys."

[3] Ib. 309, 339-40, 360.

openly into the city that needed them. They became freemen,[1] Gawnys, Husseys, Ryans, Dowlans, Irrells, Neills, Uriells, Fernes, Kennys, Kellys, and the mayors Fagan and Fyan[2]—dropping their Os and Macs, or even their old names to call themselves, according to the statute, after a town or district. They took their full share in the trade of the city. We may say in fact that not only the bulk of the poorer classes, but more than half of the craft guilds were Gaels.[3] They bought Irish cloaks[4] in the market, and joined in the yearly pilgrimages[5] when the gates of Dublin were thrown open and the country men allowed to pour in and worship at
1466. the shrine of S. Patrick.[6] Perhaps we may trace the Irish influence in the old struggle as to holding the fair on St. Patrick's day.

[1] *v.* Cal. Rec. Dub.; Cal. Doc. Sweetman; Mise. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, I. 111.

[2] C.S.P. 1588, 510.

[3] See Cal. Rec. Dub. "We find Irish names among the mayors, bailiffs, treasurers, auditors, aldermen, sergeants, mace-bearers, constables, pledges, buyers for the city, merchants, freemen, and leading craftsmen—such names as Synnagh, Byrne, Ohause, Oling, More, Malone, Mulghan, Reilly, Naghten, Carroll, etc. Many Irishmen had put away their own names for a foreign form: Robert de Bree was a native Irishman, merchant and holder of large property in Dublin, and mayor; his descendants married into leading municipal families. Other names tell nothing of their origin. Gilbert, Hist. and Mun. Doc. xxx.

[4] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 326. [5] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 324. *v.* app.

[6] The Castle and indeed the Corporation were very careful of entering on any conflict with the Irish population. An

While Irish influences thus penetrated into the central fortress of the English, it was in vain that Henry VIII. ordered the men of Galway or Limerick to dress like Englishmen and "endeavour" to speak English, and put their children to school to learn it:[1] they still shaved their heads 1536. after the Irish fashion, and kept the Irish hand-breadths—"a hand-breadth between ear and hair, a hand-breadth between shoes and hose, a hand-breadth between the fringe of the tunic and the knee."[2] They played the Irish games, hurlings 1527. and quoitings and hand-ball,[3] forbidden by the statute of Kilkenny. Priests, doctors, clerks, 1544. nurses, Irish messengers, harpers, porters, millers, bakers, shoemakers, butchers, came after the

Irish hay-boy, Henry White (1532), killed an English soldier who insulted him in the street, on which rose a great uproar between the apprentices and the soldiers—the deputy Skeffington issued from the castle as far as the pillory, "to whom the mayor posted through the press with the sword naked under his arm, and presented White that was the brewer of all this garboil to his lordship, whom the governor pardoned, as well for his courage in bickering as for his retchless simplicity and pleasantness in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man may see how many bloody quarrels a brawling swashbuckler may pick out of a bottle of hay, namely when his brains are forebitten with a bottle of nappie ale." Hol. vi. 285. When a judge of the admiralty charged a Dublin alderman and merchant with joining with a Bristol man to rob a French ship as common pirates (1587), "the mayor of the city of Dublin, Mr. Richard Raunsell, of mere power hath rescued and taken the prisoners from the constable." C.S.P. 1587, 269; cf. ch. vi.

[1] Car. i. 91, 411; ii. 167; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 383-4; 28th H. VIII. cap. 15.

[2] Triads, K. Meyer.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 402.

accustomed manner of their country to crave meat and drink at the great festivals;[1] and the women "coshered" with their friends, a train of dependants following them in the old Irish fashion, to enjoy hospitality. They keened over the dead—making open noise of an unreasonable
1485. 1625. cry after the Irishry at wakes and in the house, street, church, and fields—"we mean," said the virtuous invaders, "their singing songs, songs to the praise of men both dead and also alive, and not to God everliving."[2]

Galway bye-laws have often been quoted to prove the natural hatred of the civilised Anglo-Irishman to the surrounding savages, and the dangerous situation of the town among ferocious enemies—laws for example that no guns or
1517. powder or saltpetre were to be sold to any Irish
1522. or outlandish man, nor armour (not even "yarn for a cross-bow string"); that if any man should bring any Irishman to brag or boast upon the town, to forfeit 12d.; that no man of this town shall hoste or receive into their
1518. houses at Christmas, Easter, and no feast else, any of the Burkes, MacWilliams, Kellys, nor no sept else; and that neither O nor Mac should strut or swagger through the streets.[3]

These things however were what Galway

[1] Hard. Gal. 211-12;. H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 410.

[2] Hard. Gal. 211-12; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 473. "To weep Irish." Hol. vi. 67.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 397-8. *v.* app.

men were accustomed to do, and continued 1593.
to do, till the end of the century. Their rules do not represent a battle of civilised Englishmen against Irish savages, but merely the battle found all over Europe of self-governed and peaceful trading communities against the interference of the warlike lord of the neighbourhood, who, as he saw the town grow rich, would have exploited it for his private gain, or mastered it by his men-at-arms. The English noble with his insolent cavalry was dreaded by an English borough for just the same reason as an Irish chieftain with his spurs "swaggering" through the town. In an Irish borough indeed there was fully as much fear of the quarrelsome Englishman of the country-side as of any Irish man of war. The faithful subjects of Cork complained of 1326.
great men, as well English as Irish, who con- 1359.
federated in evil deeds against them.[1] Waterford, surrounded by English settlers, gained leave by statute for the citizens to assemble and ride in 1447.
manner of war, with banners displayed, against the Powers, Walshes, Grants, and Daltons, who continually preyed and robbed their town:[2] a later statute spoke of the peril of the city "environed round about" as much by English 1477-8.
rebels as Irish enemies.[3] Waterford men there-

[1] Tuckey's Cork, 20, 23.

[2] Smith's Waterford, 138-9; 25 H. VI. cap. 18.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 267.

fore asked of Henry VII. that no interest in the city should be given to the neighbouring lords of the land (descendants here of Anglo-Norman settlers), and considering their mixed surroundings, the city laws against sale of weapons
1480-1. were directed against any one outside the town, Irish or English.[1] In Galway, on the other hand, since there was not a single Englishman in the country round, no such precautions were needed, and the word Irishman in its code stood for what would have been called an "outland man," or country man, in town laws of England.

It is evident that the makers of the Galway rules were not concerned with racial animosities and political schemes, but with the business of town government, the protection of its monopolies, and the credit of its trade. Ordinances
1516-1584. against selling ships to Irishmen, or carrying freight for unfree men, or secret goods, or loading Irish barques, or taking an Irishman on board a ship when merchandise was to be sold, or buying cattle from any but "true men," were merely precautions against a smug-
1485-1560. gling competition. Prudent rules directed that there should be no sale of land within the town to an Irishman *save by leave of the Council*.[2] They ordered that a man who would

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. p. 315, 380, 396, 397, 405, 413, 433-4; Hard. Gal.; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 383.

[2] Hard. Gal. 64-5; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 385, 397, 400.

not "abide the judgement" of the Mayor and Council should not "convey him out of the town under any Irishman his safeguard and wings, whereby he might procure loss and hindrance to the town" by his advice to the outlander;[1] and forbade that when words of discord and variance arose between any brother or neighbour of Galway, an "outlandish man or enemy of the inhabitants" might be called in to capture the injurious speaker, if "one neighbour procure for evil will to his neighbour so to be taken."[2] No man of Irish race however was shut out of Galway. Once the captains of half a dozen septs, who seem to have been daily parading in their spurs, were ordered to be arrested until they made restitution for their debts and damages, and not to enter the town again *without leave of those to whom they had committed trespass or owed debts*.[3] But the Galway laws, far from showing any hostility of race, ordered,[4] for the tranquillity and peace of the town, that no man or woman should make comparison of lineage and lineage, or sow any variance or discord between them to make unquietness or strife, under forfeit of 100 shillings for every such offence.

1526. 1505. 1549. 1532.

"Os and Macs indeed were never strangers in the Galway streets. The O'Flahertys[5] had

[1] H.M.C. Rep. v. App. v. 402.
[2] Ib. 391.
[3] H.M.C. Rep. x App. v. 412-3.
[4] Ib. 405. *v.* app
[5] Hardiman, Gal. 48.

once protected it by land. In the first confiscation of Connacht, Richard de Burgo drove the O'Flahertys out of Galway; the plunderers walled the town and virtuously prayed, "From the fury of the O'Flahertys, good Lord deliver us." But in later times the O'Flahertys traded, intermarried, and took their share in the life of Galway, councillors, merchants, masters of the guild of coopers, and the like. The town had risen under the protection of the O'Briens of Arran, descendants of Brian Boru, who for a yearly payment guarded their bay and harbour. Stated visits of the O'Briens to Galway,[1] of the Corporation to Arran, with rights for each of two accustomed meals, reminded both
1565. sides of their alliance. The chief men of Galway sailed to revenge an injury to the O'Briens.
1575. When danger threatened, the mayor and commons renewed their promise to defend the sept; and they pleaded for Murrough O'Brien when the queen expelled him and the O'Flahertys alike from Arran, to plant it and overawe Galway with English soldiers.

It was the MacWilliams, moreover, who had led the city in the time of its vigorous growth.
1233. Lords of Galway, founders of St. Nicholas
1320. church, the "king's enemies" who had cast
1333. off English dress and language and laws, they claimed the real dominion by conquest, by grant

[1] Hard. Gal. 51, 52 n., 319; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 424-5.

of Henry III., and by Irish inheritance.[1] In defence of their rights against the English royal house the burgesses of the town and all the 1388
commonalty, by common agreement,[2] rang the common bell, and paid the fealty, which (said the English) they owed the king, unto William, son of Richard de Burgo, the king's enemy; who, in the name of dominion, received from them the said fealty, fishing weirs, fisheries, mills, rents, services, and all other emoluments in the said town belonging to the king; they aided the said William to resist the king and his ministers, and afterwards rang the common bell, and delivered to him all the keys of the gates of the town, to resist and prevent the entrance of the king and his ministers.

[1] William de Burgo, first of the Norman invaders in the west, made alliance with Cathal of the Red Hand, king of Connacht (1200). Richard de Burgo, the "Great Earl of Connacht," married Cathal's daughter (1221). Camb. Ev. iii. 151-5. His descendant of the elder branch, earl William, died (1333) leaving only a baby daughter who was carried to England; upon which two Burkes of the younger branch refused to hand over the Irish inheritance of Connacht (in the heat of its wars) after English law to an infant girl in London, divided its lands between them as joint heirs of the Great Earl and of Cathal, were elected in Irish fashion by the title of MacWilliam, and became Irish leaders. Ulick MacWilliam of Castlebar had thus the dominion of Galway. The child heiress meanwhile married Lionel of Clarence, son of Edward III., who came to Ireland as lord lieutenant (1360) to seek his shadowy "inheritance," and handed on his theoretic claim again to his daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, in his turn lord lieutenant after Lionel (1380). *v.* app.

[2] Hard Gal. 60.

Commonly reputed by modern writers an English borough that had cast all Irish clergy and traders outside its walls, Galway in fact had in it the blood of all the peoples—D'Arcy and French, men of France; Joyce and Walsh, from Wales; Blake and Skerrett, English; Kirwan and perhaps Marten, Irish; the Bodkins bore the Geraldine motto Crom-aboo.[1] The
1512. Irish inhabitants who crowded in were only put out if they paid no taxes.[2] An old rule that no man should be made free unless he could speak English and shaved his upper lip weekly[3]
1522. was repeated, like other ordinances which were neglected or which had been impossible to enforce. The number of Irish burgesses was certainly very great; we find them serving as bailiffs, public notaries, clerks, vicars, arbitrators or umpires, tribunes, jurymen, witness to deeds, or among the landowners, residents, and traders.[4] It was even amicably arranged that if any one was chosen port-reeve who could not speak English nor order himself after the English sort and
1551. fashion in court, he should be asked to wage a substitute—the sovereign and council to moderate the said wages reasonably, apparently to leave the Irishman a fair profit from his honorary post. At the reconstruction of S. Nicholas College

[1] Hard. Gal. 9, 10. Misc. Tr. Arch. Soc., 1846, i. 87-8.
[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 395.
[3] Ib. 400. [4] *v.* app.

under Edward VI., five of the eight vicars choral were evidently Irish[1]—Derby Ohoysshine, Derby Onowan, John Dermoyte, John Obraughan, Edmund Offlartye—along with other Irish clerks. The band of Youngmen (an association formed under a captain for the town defence), any of whom might be "put in credit or trust with any commission on goods into any foreign country," enrolled Irishmen[2]—may, indeed, have been all Irish. There were many Irish apprentices and merchants—the goldsmith Donnell O'Volloghan, with all rights of a merchant trading to foreign lands; O'Trehy, O'Dowan, Halloran, O'Markighan, O'Muylen, formally taken as apprentices by Skerretts and Martens and Frenches and Lynches, on the terms that after seven years they should be freemen and merchants in partnership for a time with the employer, who was to give a loan to start them in trade.[3] These must have been the apprentices, young gentlemen from the country learning their business as merchants, who made the streets of Galway brilliant with 1560-1591.

[1] Rym. xv. 258; C.S.P. 1592, 455; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 387.

[2] Ib. 403, 444, 447.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 390, 441, 445-6, 447, 452, 455; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 382-3. Other Irish names appear in the records—O'Donnell, MacDonnell, O'Conor, O'Neill, Dermot, O'Braughan, O'Donovan, O'Coyne. Inter-marriages are noted with O'Malleys, O'Flahertys, O'Donoghies.

In 1420 an Irishman, O'Haygayn, bought in Galway white English cloth and red cloth and other things, and paid chiefly in money. Blake Records, i. 19.

1585. their silk coats and linings and ruffles and peaked pantouffles. Lurcan was the writer of the court,
1561. Dermott the public notary. One James Lawless (was he of the organ-builder's family?) was restored to the liberty, "according as his *sept* was so found to be freemen . . . as members of the same corporation."[1] William O'Shaughnessy at a later date (1640) had the freedom "in consideration of his alliance in blood *to the whole town* and for the good nature and affection that he and his whole family do bear it."[2] The merchants' families married freely with O'Flahertys, Tierneys, FitzTeiges, O'Malleys, O'Briens, and "degenerate" MacWilliams:[3] professing, if necessary, to the king that their only object in such marriages was to bring these men "of wild governance" into "civility, good order, and conversation with the king's honourable council."

The streets of Galway were thronged too with Irishmen from the surrounding lands. The
1547. country folk came to leave their hides and linen-cloth with "the Master of the Spittill-House" and the Keepers of the Abbeys east and west.[4] There was constant traffic with the surrounding hamlets, and with Irish Roscommon, much buying and selling, debts to be collected, or a mortgage on land given to an Irishman.[5] Some-

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 390. [2] Hard Gal. 216.
[3] Hard. Gal. 40 n., 81 n.; C.S.P. 1589, 219; Tombs in S. Nich. Church.
[4] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 396. [5] *v.* app.

times the mayor sent to conduct the leading men of a sept into the town for a parley on common business.[1] The gentry still rode in wearing their weapons without hindrance. In 1594.
time of need they came to ask their friends, men of the town, councillors, even the mayor himself, to stand surety for them. Galway laws were tolerant: no townsman might be surety for a gentleman in the country or ransom him *in such wise that the town took any hurt*; and, 1513.
presently, none of the Corporation were to be 1552.
sureties for country men to aid them in delaying their just debts to the town; while later yet they went so far as to order that no person 1579.
who had been or was in the chief offices of the borough should be received for suretyship.[2]

Other Irish visitors came on business of the country estates. For Galway merchants, "rich and great adventurers of the sea," aimed too at wide territorial rule. James Lynch had the islands of Arran[3] in mortgage, so that, if the sept of Clan Teige deceased and perished, he should be sole heir and possessor. There must have been many other mortgages, and there was much buying of tithes.[4] Galway merchants and craftsmen were accustomed to live among

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 409.

[2] Ib. 395, 414, 428, 459; cf. Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 432.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 425.

[4] Ib. 403.

their Irish relations in their country houses outside the walls.[1]

The town itself, moreover, had a land hunger.
1484. In the year of its great success, when it made its compact with Richard III. for a mayor, it made another alliance equally profitable, uniting with the archbishop of Tuam to break the see of Annaghdown on Lough Corrib. Tuam thus assured its spiritual supremacy over a refractory see, and Galway got as one reward an independent collegiate church of S. Nicholas, with warden and vicars elected by the town, and very much subject to the town.[2] For its second recompense, it
1487-97. requested from the next archbishop (a Galway man) a gift of nearly all the parishes of Annaghdown diocese, a rich extension to their trading lands. Hatred of the wild Irish and English loyalty were not the motives of this excellent bargain, for the bishops of Annaghdown since the time of Henry II. had been maintained against Tuam by the English kings—"especially" said Edward III., "as the church of Annaghdown is amongst the mere English, and ruled by a mere English bishop, and the church of Tuam among the mere Irish, and ruled by a mere Irish prelate."[3]

[1] Hard. Gal. 210-12.

[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 386-7, 461.

[3] King, Church Hist. Ire. iii. 1171, etc.; Galway Arch. Soc., 1904. Annaghdown had been O'Flaherty land, and possibly its annexation to Galway was looked on as recovering O'Flaherty heritage from English to Irish supremacy.

The tenants of Galway lands lived under Irish law—of saut or ransom for manslaughter, of land-tenure, of customary fines for cattle-taking, and the rest. Irish Brehons came into the town to expound their code to the Galway lawyers and 1558.
sit with them in arbitration.[1] When the mayor forbade Irish judges in his court, he himself accepted from the people the customary fee for 1519.
his sentence, called oleigethe, and doubtless gave them in return Irish law.[2]

The prosperity of Galway in fact did not hang on its hostility to the Irish or the purity of its English blood and customs. Its wealth grew out of a policy of fellowship, compromise, and respect for their Irish neighbours—equals and friends in business and in learning. We have seen that the Irish boroughs in general, whether they were the very strongholds of English government, or towns set in purely Irish districts, or where the Norman settlers were in

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 403, 408, 417. William Marten claiming his saut from the town for the slaughter of Thomas Marten, the case "was judged upon the town by Piers Lynch for the town his part, and by MacEgan [of the family of Brehons] for the country his part," and the Court and Commons acted by their decision, so that the said William and his heirs "made the said town and Commons quiet and clear for ever as touching the said slaught and saut." A Brehon, Boetius MacEgan, was called as one of the arbitrators in a question about land, 1543. Blake Records, i. 80-83; Iar Connacht, 211. For English use of Brehon law see Berry's Stat. 389.

[2] Hard. Gal. 80; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 398; Hol. vi. 428. (This fee was one twelfth part.)

strength, were all alike flooded with Irish life, and the more active in trade the more Irish. The burghers everywhere, instead of remaining after their original intention the destroyers of Irish Ireland, became in fact the champions of her freedom—so completely had Irish civilisation embraced the incoming peoples in town and country, and made them a part of the commonwealth. Their alliance was confirmed by the policy of the new English planters and monopolists, and of the English government, who shewed no less hostility to the English bann in Ireland than to the mere Irish.

It may be supposed that towns in Ireland could have thriven by hearty co-operation with English traders, and preserved an independence equal to the English boroughs. But so long as conquest and domination were in men's minds such an alliance was impossible. The English trader like the English king claimed nothing less than supremacy. He could call legislation to his aid, and the might of England to support him in a domination so profitable to his business; and in the unequal balance there could be no fair measure. A single case, that of Dublin, may illustrate the difficulties of traders of Ireland, even in the most favoured city.

We have seen the attempt of the English colonists there to secure an English "atmosphere." Their loyalty was ill rewarded. While

they would have cast the Irish out of trade for their own profit, the traders in England assumed that it was themselves, of the governing country, who should exploit the commerce. Dublin, they argued, was an English city, and English mer- 1456.
chants should have free trade there. Thus Dublin, severing itself from the Irish, was to be robbed of its trade by Englishmen yet more loyal and of more unmistakable English blood. So began a singular history. The governing class, neither English nor Irish, hanging between two worlds, greedy of the profits of both, narrowed to the mere material interests of commerce, carried on a lively war with England and with Ireland, hoping probably to dominate the situation by a political bargain with England, and by a commercial monopoly in Ireland.

Dublin, however, had shrewd rivals in the English traders, who declared that Irish towns were a part of England, and announcing themselves men of London, Coventry, Chester, and so on, claimed to trade without dues in Dublin. These the city ordered to pay custom until they brought 1456.
evidence of their continual abiding in those towns.[1] A confederation of the English then refused to carry the packs of Dublin merchants in their ships; Dublin denied them the fran- 1460.
chise of the city.[2] Within a month or two, it would seem, the Englishmen bought a royal

[1] Gilbert's Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 291. *v.* app. [2] Ib. i. 305.

charter allowing them to have a guild and make laws in Dublin; and did make laws to the effect that no Dublin freeman might henceforth carry their wares over-sea to England; threatening that any one not sworn into their own English fraternity should be beaten and slain if he were caught on the English road.

1460. Dublin immediately fined and cast out of its franchise any of its freemen who should enrol his name on this foreign guild, "unless they will be reformed to give and yield with their neighbouring citizens of the said city."[1] Their merchants carried over wares, and were arrested,

1466. vexed, troubled, imprisoned, and beaten by the men of Chester and other places. The Dublin corporation issued a claim, doubtless a vain one, for damages;[2] and made English dealers as uncomfortable as possible in the Irish markets.

1538. London citizens appealed to their own mayor and aldermen for redress, complaining that Dublin would not allow them to buy or sell with any man in the liberties; and Sir Richard Gresham[3] asked Thomas Cromwell to take order against those who refused London men free trade in Dublin, or leave to carry their wares into the country; "the Mayor and Aldermen," was his scandalised complaint, "will not give us for our goods so much as they stand us

[1] Ib. i. 306-7. [2] Ib. 322.

[3] Ib. 502-3; C.S.P. 1538, 43.

in, but use all Englishmen with such extreme manner that no man is able to continue among them."

Dublin traders defied the interference of Cromwell. They pressed their monopoly yet further. Merchants from France and Flanders as well as England gathered to its great fair of S. James, and "offered their wares so dog-cheap in respect of the city merchants that the country was year by year sufficiently stored by strangers"[1] with coal and fruit and wine, 1558
carpets, broadcloth and kerseys, velvet and silk, satin and cloth of gold and embroideries.[2] But by the jealousy of the Dublin merchants "that famous mart was suppressed and all foreign sale 1551.
wholly abandoned." The cost of living rose. A visitor to Ireland found that in the country prices were "at a far more reasonable hand than in Dublin, where I do find all things at 1568.
double price in respect of our things in England."[3] The only fault of the city, it was said in Elizabeth's time, was that it was less frequented by strangers because of the bare haven. But this was not the only reason. "The merchants of Dublin,"[4] the deputy was 1585
informed, "of late have restrained all foreign merchants from traffic hither, whereby they

[1] Hol. 25.
[2] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 8-16; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 233.
[3] Car. i. 383. [4] Car. ii. 399; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 427. *v.* app.

hinder the Queen greatly, and hurt themselves, and the whole country; for whereas all commodities were afore brought unto them by strangers, now nothing cometh in but of their own bringing; so that all things by that means waxeth so dear as passeth, and the merchants of Dublin bind all men to buy all commodities of them; whereas if the common course of traffic were used still as it hath been, we should have plenty of all things, and everything good cheap."

They claimed moreover by ancient privileges to
1419. bring all wares produced in Ireland to England and Gascony and wherever else they may desire, and to carry on trade freely and buy and sell wines and all kinds of victuals without any
1582. hindrance from the king;[1] and kept up a con-
1588. tinual stir to be free of poundage for merchandise they should ship at Chester and Liverpool. According to the English they evaded customs and cockets, got Chester officials to wink at
1575. their sleights, were so "stout and undutiful" that they would show neither goods nor cockets to the Dublin officers, maliciously threatened the English remembrancer and customer there, and defrauded the revenue of immense sums.[2] Her majesty has not and need not confirm their charters, said the angry remembrancer.

[1] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 24, 29; C.S.P. 1582, 388, 417; 1588, 510.
[2] C.S.P. 1575, 51, 55, 76, 78, 406.

Monopoly poured wealth into the merchants' coffers. "Very few such officers under the crown of England keep so great a port, none I am sure greater, than the mayor and sheriffs. The mayor kept open house and a princely table. He spent at least £500 a year in viands and diet, no small sum where victuals are so good, cheap, and the presents of friends diverse and sundry."[1] Mayor Sarsfield had "three barns well stored and thwacked with corn,"[2] in one of which he thought sufficient to have stored his house with bread, ale, and beer for the year, "and now God and good company be thanked I stand in doubt whether I shall rub out my mayoralty with my third barn, which is well nigh with my three ended." He spent that year in house-keeping, twenty tuns of claret, over and above white wine, sack, Malmsey, muscatel, etc. His house was open from five in the morning till ten at night, and "he and his wife did never frown or wrinkle their foreheads at any guest were he never so mean, nor was his porter allowed to give the simplest man Tom Drum his entertainment, which is to hale a man in by the head and thrust him out by both the shoulders." Mayor Stanyhurst was so great and good a householder that the *Lord Chancellor was his daily and ordinary guest.* 1551. 1554. d. 1554.

[1] Hol. vi. 21-2.

[2] Hol. vi. 23, 64; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 437, 441.

But while these favoured monopolists rejoiced in great gains, high prices and dearth afflicted the country, and the extraordinary number of beggars that swarmed the streets made the whole city in effect their hospital.[1] Beggars were punished by the English stocks and workhouse. Campion, who had come from Oxford, commented
1575. on the Dublin life: "Our time," he remarked, "that gaineth excessively and whineth at every farthing to be spent on the poor, is yet oppressed with scarcity and beggary."[2] Burghley's kinsman Goche wrote to him that "Dublin was so changed for the worse that he scarcely
1582. knew it:[3] a poor horse burnt in his stable was devoured by the famishing multitude." Surrounding towns shared in the distress. Drogheda fell into decay by the heavy customs imposed on English wares, its bridge and quay idle and ruined, its people driven from trade to tillage.[4]

Detached from Irish interests, Dublin traders in fact fell, with or without their will, into the service of increasing London profits. Their high prices gave opportunity to English rivals to push their goods, and lure Ireland, by device of cheapness of commodity or by tricks of financial exchange, to support English trade. You can keep as good a house here as at

[1] Hol. vi. 23.
[2] Camp. cap. vi.
[3] C.S.P. 1582, 392.
[4] C.S.P. 1591, 416.

Exeter, Carew's agent in Ireland wrote to him, in apparent ignorance of any import trade at Irish ports, "so that you do furnish yourself *out of your country* spice, sugar, and such other foreign wares and merchandise."[1] In another way London merchants made gain of the Dublin trade. The base coin that England sent to Ireland was useless in Dublin, and there was often no money unless the deputy or justices would advance a loan, adding usurer's business to their other profits. Therefore, "the merchants 1585.
of Dublin[2] have a vent to London, to take up all their wares upon credit to very great sums, the money to be paid here at Dublin. The nobility, knights, captains, gentlemen, and soldiers, and others of this realm, they again take up of the merchants of Dublin such commodities as they want upon their credit, and for time paying out of all reason for the same. At length, when the treasure cometh over from England, when these men have their pay, the money cometh presently to the merchants of Dublin. Then come the merchants, factors, and agents of London, and they receive a great part thereof for their masters' use, never employing any part thereof in or about any commodity here, but they, viz. the merchants, by one means or other, and likewise divers gentlemen, convey the same privily out of this realm in this trunk

[1] Car. i. 384. [2] Car. ii. 400.

or that trunk, which must not be searched (they say); for this gentleman allegeth it is his provision of apparel, and this merchant saith that he hath license to carry his money; and so between both, what with the gentleman with his device, and what with the merchant having license as he will allege for £100, when by colour thereof shall be carried a thousand or more of sundry men's money, defrauding her majesty and abusing her highness' officers, we have scarce of any money here." Official privileges and licenses to favourites had brought it about that "the statute for restraint of money, viz., that none shall carry it over out of this realm, but he shall pay 3s. 4d. of the pound for custom to the Queen, is not put in use here."

Experience of this finance and trade did not confirm Dublin loyalty. Its citizens too, like those of the other towns, were turned to sympathy with the struggles of their countrymen. Mer-
1582. chants of Dublin supplied Lord Baltinglass with carbines and powder in his rising against the English government, and when the Lord Justices arrested them they escaped punishment by "an old Act" of Edward IV. (1475), which gave them the right to be liberated from gaol and tried by a jury of twenty-four citizens,[1] on whose sympathy apparently they could rely. There was secret
1590. correspondence with Spain;[2] and from Dublin,

[1] C.S.P. 1583, 454, 458. [2] C.S.P. 1590, 296.

as from Dundalk and Drogheda, weapons and ammunition were continually supplied to the proclaimed "traitor" Hugh O'Neill. 1595

But in Dublin there were special bribes for the trading classes. There was the lucrative traffic of the government for war supplies, the castle patronage, the official monopolies, the import of English cloth and manufactures when Irish industries were ruined: in one way or another Dublin merchants could still live on a dying country, even if they missed the prosperity that might have been theirs through its life.

From the history of the towns it is clear that the original English settlers, almost from the first generation, had been led by interest and intelligence to enter into the civilisation of Ireland, and become faithful citizens of their new land, united with its people, and devoted to its fortunes. Left to themselves, English and Irish joined in fruitful alliance, the English accepting Irish culture and jurisprudence, and enriching it with their own organisation of business and municipal laws. The picture of Galway, or indeed that of any other town, illustrates this fortunate union, by which civic prosperity was assured, the gaiety and urbanity of life enhanced, and a common net-work of interests spread over the country.

This hope was wrecked by Tudor statesmen and their captains of industry. No wisdom of the boroughs could have averted the menaced

ruin—not if they had remained as English as on the first day of their planting. For the English policy was not the development of Irish industries for Ireland, in which the towns could have co-operated, but the capture of all trade for the benefit of England. Settlers of their own blood had to be ejected from competition as ruthlessly as the wild Irish. The issue was clear. It gave meaning to the "conquest," and a desperate purpose. In the case of Dublin we have seen the conflict under the interesting conditions of a city which had, more than any other, sought to combine English loyalty and self-preservation. And here, as in every other town, England demanded nothing less than her own entire advantage out of Irish trade.

The English government had perceived that the hopes with which England first planted her burghers in Ireland had been frustrated; and other methods were henceforth to be adopted.

VI.

THE RUIN OF THE TOWNS.

With the growth of their commerce, the situation of the towns became one of extreme difficulty. The boroughs in Ireland, like those in England, bargained with the kings to secure rights of governing and taxing themselves. But in addition, as the wars of conquest broadened, they were plunged into conflicts with the crown unknown in England, in defence of their trade and their country. In that cruel situation the problems of city life and of national life became entangled in a complicated struggle, in which the towns fought first for their own commercial and self-governing charters, then for national freedom, and at last for life itself. Men were forced in that extreme conflict to take sides, to elect the country they would serve. There was no room for the half-hearted :

> "The Gaeidhil regard us as English,
> The English proclaim us from our lands;
> Narrow is our share of the earth,
> We are like apples on a flood!"[1]

[1] Camb. Ev. iii. 167.

The national war brought its calamities to every town in Ireland. Galway for example, which has been held to represent the English power in the west, was in a constant state of armed defence against the crown. The protection of MacWilliam marked the strength of the friendship of Galway with the surrounding Irish, and for 200 years the main object of English kings was to break the Irish alliance, and to recover "Our town of Galway" with all its customs and rents. The quarrel of dues thus widened into a war of conquest in which Galway, held down by an English garrison, was required to hand over its profits to the king as English landlord, and its trade to English subjects. The task took 300 years to accomplish, and required the utter destruction of the whole society and corporation of Galway, and the ruin of its commerce.

1333-1652.

1333. After the risings of the town under Ulick and William Burke, the kings were practically forced to allow the claims of the MacWilliams to the lordship of Galway. Richard II. gave the town a charter with rights to trade and elect yearly a "sovereign." But even after this truce Henry IV. granted a license to war on rebels and enemies to some Bristol merchants, slave-dealers of that day, who had prayed leave to go in four ships and take the city and islands.[1] All efforts to levy customs for the

1388.

1397.

1400.

[1] Hard. Gal. 62 n. *v.* app.

crown were vain, and the government proposed that ships and merchandise from Galway, Limerick, and Cork in any English port should be seized till the owners gave surety that the burghers would pay their debts. A Bristol merchant (perhaps one of the buyers, "as they were heathen people," of Irish weavers) and other Englishmen were appointed keepers and inspectors of Galway, Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal;[1] and made water-bailiff, examiner of ports, buyer of the king's wines, deputy gauger of wines. These officials from over sea were probably got rid of by means of a new charter from Edward IV.,[2] that no one should enter the town without leave of the Corporation, the king's lieutenant and chancellor only excepted. The next move was when Richard III. made terms with Galway and gave it by charter a mayor and bailiffs: by this treaty even deputy and chancellor were forbidden to enter the town without license of its officers; on the other hand, the lord MacWilliam too was forbidden without license of the mayor to have any rule or authority whatsoever within the town to exact, ordain, or dispose of anything therein by land or water as he and his predecessors had been accustomed to do. The good-will of Galway however maintained MacWilliam in his old position.

1419-1425.

1464.

1484.

The long conflict between the city and the king entered on its last stage under Henry VIII.

[1] Tuckey's Cork, 36. [2] Hard. Gal. 65, App. xx.

He proposed to shove in pretensions of men deriving from himself — Robert Cowley the
1525. plover-taker with a tax on hides,[1] Ormond with
1526. a prisage on wine,[2] though "prisage has not hitherto been accustomed to be paid there" — fastening on Galway a quarrel that lasted for 58 years. He made Ulick Burke, lord of
1543. Galway, first earl of Clanrickard, and imposed as part of the bargain that the Crown should take all the pensions and exactions claimed by Mac-William in Galway, with compensation promised, so that he and his heirs should be totally excluded from the town for ever. But Clan-
1544. rickard still claimed the customs and fee-farm, which his ancestors possessed time out of mind.[3] Then began a time of what the English called "the spoils of Clanrickard"—a struggle apparently for Galway dues between the intruding king's officers and the non-conforming Burkes, Clanrickard's revolted sons carrying on hot war for the ancestral dominion and privileges. Galway suffered from the conflict, and dutifully complained to the government of these "bad sons" and their "spoils." Still, however, the Earl had his great house in Galway with its underground passage to the port, imposing now even in its last

[1] Hard. Gal. 77. *v.* app. [2] Ib. 79, App. xxi.

[3] Car. i. 204, 210. It was admitted (1574) that annuities remained due to the earl both from the Galway customs, and from a grant in exchange on the Dublin exchequer; which were the source of constant trouble. Car. i. 458.

heaps of ruin; still the leading merchants there were his factors[1] to collect the rents and dues in all his lands and castles; still William, the most rebellious of all the sons of Clanrickard, and the most desperate in his hostility to the English invader, was beloved of Galway men. When he was condemned to death by the president at 1580
Galway, the mayor sought his pardon; and when the marshal hastened his execution before it could arrive,[2] the whole town broke into open revolt. A merchant of Galway who went to London with 1577.
a little stock pitifully spent it all on Clanrickard's diet in the Tower where he was lying as a traitor;[3] and it was to Galway that the Earl at last came back after six years of London prison, a dying man released to breathe once more the air of his native country, and with 1582.
the enthusiastic greetings of the townsmen in his ears ended his troubled life in their midst, in a town as devoted to his clan as when 133
old Ulick de Burgo ruled over it.

Successive Deputies who for a century marched their armies through Galway failed to effect any "reformation" of the town. It was accustomed 1536
to sell victuals and salt to O'Brien[4] and other Irishmen, and iron for their guns. In its most thriving days the burghers refused on the plea of poverty to fortify the town on the land side,

[1] C.S.P. 1576, 141, 228. [2] Hard. Gal. 88 n.; Car. ii. 270.
[3] C.S.P. 1577, 127. [4] Car. i. 92.

1548. and with loud protestation of loyalty declared they could withstand any invasion by Irishmen:[1] all they wanted was a present of great ordnance from England to protect them by sea, apparently from their customers the Spaniards and the French.

1569. Lord deputy Sidney visited Galway to plant Sir Edward Fitton as president of Connacht, and under his eye the corporation began to use the term "Her Majesty's town of Galway."[2] After a few years of Fitton's exactions and MacWilliam

1576. "spoils," Sidney returned to a diminishing and disloyal population:[3] "I find the town of Galway much decayed, both in number of expert sage men of years and young men of war . . . it was evidently proved before me that 50 householders of that town do now inhabit under MacWilliam Eughter"—fled from English to Irish protection. Running over the names of "Barretts, Cusacks, Lynches, and sundry English surnames now degenerate," he told how Galway men had "lost

1576. their wits and hearts," and had "almost forgotten that they had received any corporation from the Crown": "I trust they are now revived," he added, with small reason, as later years were to show.

To preserve this revived loyalty a charter was drawn up in London, and lord justice Pelham,

[1] C.S.P. 1548, 81, 83-4.

[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 421, etc.

[3] Car. ii. 49; Hol. vi. 381.

marching with the Berwick troops, while admiral Winter kept the sea,[1] bestowed it on Galway at the sword's point to encourage them to dutiful 1579.
obedience. It renewed the town's privileges and powers "for the delivery of cloth and hoods."[2] A limited traffic was permitted. The citizens had prayed license, for their scarcity, to buy corn "from the rebels";[3] and the charter allowed the mayor by the advice of four aldermen and other four discreet men of the town, upon good considerations, to give safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies,[4] and thus continue some little country trade. They might also (with license of the deputy first obtained) grant to Spanish merchants, who, from time beyond memory until now had freely sailed into their harbour, a safe-conduct to come into the town and depart again, so that only ten came at a time, and that no stranger might view the strength of the town or walk on the walls, and that ships were searched for munition. The proud merchants saw their ancient commerce left at the deputy's nod. They were put under official supervision. Sir Lucas Dillon, an official of good trust about Sidney, was appointed to be counsel to the corporation,[5] a political post which he held as

[1] Hol. vi. 427. [2] Hard. Gal. 90, App. xxii.
[3] C.P.S. 1577, 108. [4] Hol. vi. 427.
[5] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 443; Car. ii. 53.

attorney general, even as chief baron, till 1587. Fitton had made his brother Antony collector and controller of Impost, and the unhappy corporation, "for the great love and amity that we generally do bear to him," elected Mr.
1578. Antony to the freedom of the town, "and we to dwell together in brotherly love and charity as good neighbours and townsmen."[1] But Mr. Antony, a good Protestant, showed himself "dili-
1579. gent to reform the church and people there."[2]

A year of the next president Malby's cruelty
1580. stirred the Galway men to a new revolt, "with much bravery in marching up and down the streets, with sound of drum, with spiteful speeches of their conquest against the English soldiers, terming them and all the rest no better than English churls."[3] A garrison of 100 Berwick soldiers did not win their hearts for England. "I wonder,"[4] the deputy wrote to the mayor of Galway, "you have not according to my letters sent to Castle Mayne the twenty tuns of sack and five of claret wine. I disallow of your sending continually wine and other relief in your pinnaces and galleys to those Munster traitors, who are thus greatly refreshed." The women wrapped the Spaniards slain after the Armada in fine linen.
1583. Their richest merchants remained "greatly addicted

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 427. [2] C.S.P. 1579, 191.
[3] C.S.P. 1580, 227; Hard. Gal.; Car. ii. 270.
[4] Car. ii. 281.

to the Spaniards."[1] Under Malby there was a general "reformation," and new oaths of office, 1584. the constables swearing to "suffer no Irish rebel or enemy to abide within the wards without apprehending them or signifying the same speedily to the mayor."[2] Ormond was given his long-disputed prisage of wines[3] (1526-1584).

From this time calamity deepened in the town. The heavy exactions of the president, the loss of trade, had left the merchants bereft of money, and "detestable and inordinatly gains" of usury were reared[4]—a peck of wheat or a good hide by the year for a mark of money (13s. 4d.). There was perpetual trouble now about taxes 1585. and debts.[5] The corporation engaged Christopher 1587. Leyns of Croboy in Meath (doubtless one of the law students sent to England),[6] to be of council with them in all matters of law, growing every day more perilous. Their trade was so ruined by wars, impositions, the devastation of the country round, that from £1000 a year the 1584-87. impost money fell in three years to £100, and presently to nothing: "this year it hath not been anything worth, for there came no wine thither."[7] 1588. The stricken inhabitants remained unreconciled to English methods. When FitzWilliam visited

[1] C.S.P. 1583, 457.
[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 437.
[3] Hard. Gal. 92.
[4] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 430.
[5] Ib. 439-40, 442.
[6] *v.* ch. viii.
[7] C.S.P. 1587, 394; 1588, 22.

1590. the town no one councillor came to the Lord Deputy's table, which he took offensively[1]—
1592. "There be merchants of Galway which daily come out of Spain."

A later scene in Galway in the time of the Commonwealth will show how far removed was the history of an Irish town from that of an English
1655. borough. "A fellow named Hurd, who was promoted, I hear, from his carpenter's shop to a lieutenancy in the army, was governor of Galway in the absence of Peter Stuburs, the superintendent of commerce, who had once been a pedlar." Hurd "under the prompting of some evil spirit" ordered that no woman in Galway should wear her Irish cloak. "But lo! next day the unseemly exhibition in the streets of Galway—most of the women appearing in men's coats—high-born ladies, who had been plundered of all their property by the rapacious soldiers, sinking with shame before the gaze of the public, with their ragged or patched clothes, and sometimes with embroidered table covers, or a stripe of tapestry torn down from the walls, or some lappets cut from the bed curtains, thrown over their head and shoulders. Other women covered their shoulders only, with blankets or sheets, or table cloths, or any other sort of wrapper they could lay their hands on. You would have taken your oath, that all

[1] C.S.P. 1590, 298; 1592, 524, 454.

Galway was a masquerade, the unrivalled home of scenic buffoons, so irresistibly ludicrous were the varied dresses of the poor women"—a scene planned for the sport of Hurd and his associates, "that they might distort their visages and shake their sides at the ridiculous plight of the people, and that the soldiers might not only make money by the confiscated cloaks, but wring with his property bitter tears from the citizen."[1]

Amid such scenes towns, occupied by soldiers, crushed by impositions, and forbidden to trade, were driven to universal revolt. The struggle of Galway was neither factious nor accidental. It was but an example of what was happening in every corporation in Ireland. The policy of a "godly conquest" of commerce threw the towns into the ranks of the Irish, and the horror of the English wars in Ireland drove all alike to the fury of a struggle for bare existence.[2]

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 207. See Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 173.

[2] H. Egan Kenny writes to me: "From 1580 the east coast ports were slowly but surely secured by the English: before that time the natives (or settlers) ran their own ships. The Spanish State Papers, various ms. wills, etc., show that Irish ships were in foreign countries. I compiled lists of ships, owners, cargoes, etc., from customs returns in Record Office and elsewhere. The few that survive are very illuminating. The pre-Elizabethan lists are Irish in ships and shippers and merchants: in the later years (1589-1601) English bottoms were the carriers, Englishmen the captains. When the clans were strong and English power weak our commerce was flourishing. *The fall of the greater earls was the fall of the greater merchants.*"

Differences of race were levelled: the new English trader, backed by his government, warred alike on the old English settlers and on the Irish; they in turn united in a common defence.

It is true that at a moment when English hopes of "a perfect conquest" mounted high under the powerful will and amazing energy of lord deputy Sidney, he reported with his full self-confidence that all the towns in the realm were the queen's forts and garrison, "costing nothing,
1567. but rendering service and rent;[1] the only monuments of obedience and nurseries of civility in the land, the loss of them would be the loss of this your country." For a military ruler it was in truth easier to overawe a small unarmed town of traders with a garrison of picked troops from the Scotch border[2] than to control a whole country side, and loyal addresses were from time to time sent up under military persuasion. We
1578. have seen the subjection of Galway under Pelham's troops from Berwick. Sidney at the head
1576. of his army was received at Limerick "with far greater pomp than I myself ever had or saw yielded to any other in this land"—a prudent act, for Limerick was then begging for a charter to rid them of the king's judges in their courts, the king's admiral in their river, the king's tax-gatherers in their franchise. Waterford had been sharply punished for a show of independence, and

[1] Sid. Let. 20-1, 24. [2] Car. ii. 168.

for the moment bowed to the storm. "Limerick and Waterford," Sidney wrote in a sanguine mood, "are Pieces of great regard, and greatly show their willingness to advance the service of our sovereign."[1]

A service however which was only meant to advance their own ruin could not long command their devotion, and the records of Limerick and Waterford show them in sullen if not active revolt. Limerick did not trouble any more 1578.
than Waterford to keep watch and ward,[2] but gave intelligence and relief to the Irish, and provided them with ships, munition, gunpowder, wine, and provisions,[3] while they showed "no disposition to help the soldiers" left in the town. Nothing was to be had by the English with the 1580.
good will of the townspeople, though they pay treble and quadruple in ready money.[4] They would not lend £20, nor would sell or lend wheat: they have been so spoiled, they complained to the queen, in peace by wrongs of 1582.
neighbours, in war by enemies, in peace by extortion of officers, in war by oppression of soldiers, that many honest housekeepers are begging about the country.[5] The chief fort of the whole province was the castle of Limerick,[6]

[1] Car. ii. 25; Sid. Lett. 94. [2] Car. ii. 188. *v.* app.
[3] Car. ii. 282; Soc. of Ant., Dec. 1895, 383.
[4] C.S.P. 1582, 387; 1580, 228, 231; Car. ii. 212.
[5] C.S.P. 1582, 391. [6] C.S.P. 1586, 181.

but the townsmen were scarcely held down by its terrors: "they had not yet deserved much
1586. blame," the deputy wrote, "but considering their most obstinate contrariety in religion,[1] and the inward affection that they have always borne to the Spaniard, which, as well by their several former actions as by the continual trade and free intercourse that they have with them at this day may appear, I do think it somewhat dangerous that too much trust be reposed in them."

Revolt was universal in all the trading towns of the south. When Desmond lay in a London prison, Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal sent
1562. petitions to have him back,[2] who was their only hope against rovers, pirates, and malefactors, and in the Desmond war the Councils of all those towns sided with the people. Youghal[3]
1579. drew its Irish besiegers over the wall with ropes,
1580. the mayor devoted to the Earl of Desmond. The mayor and recorder of Cork, and the citizens, were on the side of the "rebels":[4] in the war the square mile of Cork city with
1582. its surrounding mile of suburbs were reduced to a single street[5] one quarter of a mile long. But even out of that desolation no loyal Cork arose. "At Cork," ran one official account, "I

[1] C.S.P. 1586, 181.

[2] C.S.P. 1562, 190-2, 195; 1563, 214; 1548, 80-1; 1549, 100.

[3] Car. ii. 189, 204-7, 299; C.S.P. 1580, 234.

[4] Car. ii. 299; C.S.P. 1580, 234. [5] C.S.P. 1582, 361

stayed 18 days for passage. There Sir Warhame Sentleger, knight, and Andrew Skydmore assaulted me upon the North Bridge for religion with a great train following them, they arrogantly barking condemned the religion established. They did put me in great fear of my life, the said Skydmore comparing Her Majesty's godly proceedings to the vile sects of anabaptists and family of love."[1] 1590.

Galway and Limerick and Cork were encompassed by Irish life, and their nearest ports were those of France and Spain: they may have been supposed especially "degenerate." But the loyalty of Waterford was the boast of the English. "The city of Waterford hath continued to the crown of England so loyal, that it is not found registered since the conquest to have been distained with the smallest spot, or dusked with the least freckle of treason." This undeserved laudation of a town which was in practical revolt through the whole of Elizabeth's reign did credit to the acuteness of Waterford men: "the air is not very subtil, yea natheless the sharpness of their wits seemeth to be nothing rebated or dulled by reason of the grossness of the air. For in good sooth the townsmen, and namely students, are pregnant in conceiving, quick in taking, and sure in keeping."[2]

These excellent business qualities had won for

[1] C.S.P. 1590, 340, 341. [2] Hol. vi. 29.

them large liberties worthy of their skill in keeping, the fullest rights of self-government, justice, and trade.[1]

Waterford, as its laws show,[2] had always been full of Irish inhabitants, free-men, apprentices, householders, artificers, merchants, children fostered in the town or educated, men married into it, pleading in Irish in its courts, bringing into it their law and their judges. The "commonwealth," they said, "which may not subsist without artificers and manufacturers," welcomed Irishmen to be its leading craftsmen, and they made it famous for its linen and woollen goods, its cloaks, and its rugs, the best in Ireland, and for the beauty and skill of the illuminators and writers who
1485. adorned the city rolls.[3] Teig Carroll and John Nangle were among the leading weavers who formed the weavers' guild, as Teig Breack and Thomas Flyn founded that of the shoemakers;
1626. when the Waterford guild of all the trades of the whole city was incorporated, the Master was Donogho O'Fyne, and the two Wardens, Richard O'Donogho and Peter Callaghan.

[1] "Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or queens of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise any authority nor jurisdiction, within the city and liberties, but only the mayor and officers of the same. . . . Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sense, and if then there were any further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his council in the realm of England." Hol. vi. 379-80.

[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 265. [3] Ib. 265-6. *v.* app.

The Waterford rules are very interesting. "The city consisteth, and always did consist, of traffic and merchant trade";[1] its intercourse reached to Florence; its mayors, bailiffs, recorders, were 1441.
used, like its citizens, to frequent journeys to 1477.
England, Flanders, Portugal, and the Compostella pilgrimages. "The townsmen loved no idle bench-whistlers, young and old being wholly addicted to thriving,[2] the men commonly to traffic, the women to spinning and carding. The citizens are very heedy and wary in all their public affairs, slow in the determining of matters of weight, loving to look ere they leap. In choosing their magistrate they respect not only his riches, but also they weigh his experience, and therefore they elect for their mayor neither a rich man that is young nor an old man that is poor." They showed a marked dislike to racial quarrels. The burghers were closely linked with the country people through owning large tracts of land, by purchase or mortgage.[3] Their main object was peace, and a number of their laws were framed to prevent the citizens from falling, by any rashness, discourtesy, or disrespect, into quarrel with the Irish of the country, or from getting into war at sea. If any hurt was done to Waterford by a man of any nation of the land of Ireland, "the Mayor shall send to the Captain or chief of the country and pray and

[1] Ib. 334. [2] Ib. 268. [3] Car. ii. 38.

require a remedy"; only if the chief failed to provide a sufficient remedy "the mayor and bailiffs shall restrain for the said hurt." It was ordered that if any man dwelling within the liberty curse, defame, or despise any citizen in calling him Irishman he should be made to pay 13/4 *to the Irishman without any grace*. Countrymen who had been indicted or outlawed as "rebels," were allowed to be given safe-conduct into the city on business; and all were equally protected from arrest save with the mayor's leave. Their language was secured to the Irish. They were made freemen and merchants of the staple, with certain safeguards to preserve the city from outside interferences and challenges. Their names appear among the mayors, bailiffs, councillors, and shipmasters. "The outcome man" of any nation, Irish or another, was hemmed round with precautions as "all other strangers": but within the city freemen of whatever blood were equal,[1] "hearty one to another, nothing given to factions."

1492. "English array" and English speech were encouraged by law, but Irish seems to have been common in practice.

A city built on trade and peace, full of industry, tolerant, of broad statesmanship within its limits, in constant trade with England, might have been supposed sure of support from the "Queen of Ireland." But the history of

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 292, 299, 308, 323, etc. *v.* app.

Elizabeth's war, and the bitter complaints of her officers, show their deep distrust of Waterford, its banquets and protestations of loyalty. Suspicion, tyranny, and the plunder of its commerce had their natural effect, and Waterford, like all the rest of the towns, "reverted from good obedience."[1] Exempted by charter from hostings 1569.
unless the king was present, its citizens refused[2] to go out to war against the Irish, who had been excited to revolt by the violence of Sidney's packed parliament. The deputy "wrote to the mayor and his brethren of the city of Waterford to send unto him the assistance of a very few soldiers only for three days: who did very insolently and arrogantly return an answer by way of disputing their liberties with her majesty's prerogative, and so sent him no aid at all." Sidney had asked for 300 men,[3] and being given a banquet instead, bitterly threatened the whole town with "swift vengeance," which he boasted afterwards to have fulfilled. It did not cure the temper of the city. The people crowded to Mass at 4 o'c. of a Sunday morning. "This 1577.
is shameful," wrote Drury who chanced one

[1] Sidney's Letters, 22. [2] Sid. Let. 21; Hol. vi. 365, 380.

[3] C.S.P. 1569, 422. The funeral of Sir Peter Carew at Waterford was attended by the Lord Deputy, who during his stay there was nobly entertained by the mayor and aldermen, for which he returned them thanks *after he had given the city a check* for insisting on their privileges when the public required their assistance. Smith's Waterford, 142.

morning to see them, "in a reformed town."[1] The mayor was charged with "contemptuous and obstinate behaviour"; another mayor "is not a sufficient governor in case of a siege."[2] No imposts or gifts were to be got from Waterford, and no victuals willingly.[3] "A time may serve,"
1580. wrote Pelham furiously, "for the reforming of the townsmen there, who are the most arrogant Papists that live within this State." The rebels were supplied with wine, and the lord justice with water for twenty days together.[4] Townsmen were selling their ships into Lisbon and
1588. Spain.[5] It may have been from Waterford the
1580. vessel came, indirectly laden with corn for Spain and sent by way of Gloucester.[6] "There be not more forward men to victual and relieve the Spaniards," wrote the deputy, "than these Irish merchants, especially those of Waterford"—some of whom had even unladed at Lisbon Irish corn and horses for the Armada. In war-time
1588. Irishmen got free passports in and out of Lisbon, and certain spies from Waterford took advantage of the privilege, calling themselves Irishmen.[7] The alarmist reports they sent to

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 238. [2] C.S.P. 1589, 347, 348.

[3] Car. ii. 212; C.S.P. 1580, 228.

[4] Car. ii. 181; C.S.P. 1580, 199, 235. The other form of this complaint is given in the same despatch—the city used idolatry: Rome itself holdeth no more superstition.

[5] C.S.P. 1588, 5, 31, 67. [6] C.S.P. 1580, 227.

[7] C.S.P. 1588, 486-9.

the Castle were of very doubtful truth—perhaps no more than a device to escape the crushing fine of £300 laid on all traders with Spain.[1] "All Waterford men, as well they which reside in Spain as the rest that do use traffic thither are traitors, and do not stick to say when they are in Spain that they acknowledge no other prince but the Pope and the King of Spain."[2] 1590.

This deep and passionate resentment expressed the indignation of Waterford men against the determined ruin of their trade and the destruction of their liberties. Once in their loyalty they had ordered that their constables should wear English gowns "made of *English* cloth"; 1477. but experience had wakened them to a later wisdom. To save their weaving trade they 1516. ordered that no wool should be carried out of 1518. their port; in the general destruction of Irish industry, they attempted a last remedy:[3] "how greatly the city is impoverished and daily like to decay that not only the ablest and wealthiest

[1] C.S.P. 1589, 280.

[2] C.S.P. 1587, 422; 1590, 290, 293. On the accession of king James I. this city was ill inclined to the English interest. When Sir Nicholas Walsh the recorder was proclaiming the king, they pulled him down from the Market-cross. They also broke the doors of the Hospital and admitted Dr. White to preach a seditious sermon in St. Patrick's church; wherein among other invectives he said that Jezebel (meaning Q. Elizabeth) was dead. Smith's Waterford, 143.

[3] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 313, 326, 336.

persons do wear in their attire no part or parcel of anything wrought within this city or realm, but also their men-servants, maid-servants, and nurses, in like manner do wear no other than their masters." All foreign finery and all foreign woollen and linen were forbidden; and to the end the inhabitants of this city may be withdrawn from idleness, they were to content themselves with clothes wrought and made within this realm, on pain of forfeiture of such garments and their bodies to be imprisoned."[1]

It was the custom for officials to flatter the queen and please current opinion in England by asserting that Papistry was the sole and original cause of the town risings, and to make no mention of any grievances of the burghers.
1590. "The sting of rebellion,"[2] wrote an English official, "which in times past remained among the Irishry, is transferred and removed into the hearts of the civil gentlemen, aldermen, and burgesses, and rich merchants of Ireland, papistry," he falsely explained, "being the original cause
1600. and ground thereof." "The priests have in their devilish doctrine," said Carew, "so much prevailed among the people . . . as for fear of excommunication very few dare serve against the rebels, or any way aid her majesty: and this infection has so far crept into the hearts of the inhabitants of the cities and corporate

[1] *v.* pp. 139, 145, 152. [2] C.S.P. 1590, 340.

towns as the chief magistrates and mayors thereof do refuse to come to the church, which at no time heretofore hath been seen."

It was more agreeable to lay the blame of unrest on Irish depravity in religion than on the real causes, the destruction of the burgh liberties, the annihilation of their trade, and the threatenings of beggary and nakedness. The complaint of Cork for example was that the bad money ruined their trade, and that the king's officers in this province, waiters and base-born fellows, were *destroyers of the city and commonwealth*; 1603. the citizens in their pride refused to acknowledge *any other than the mayor's authority*, who compared himself to the doge of Venice. The crowd that swept the streets turned out all such Englishmen *as would not join them*—the new men who had come as pillagers and supplanters of their laborious trade and their liberties. They had been taught for forty years that "Englishman" and "Protestant" meant the enemy of Ireland and of Cork, and Thomas Fagan, who carried a white rod about the city and was styled their principal churchwarden, never suffered any such to pass by him unabused. If they burned all the bibles and prayer books they could find,[1] it was for the

[1] Tuckey's Cork, 75, 76. The constant confounding of religion with politics is illustrated in Payne's remark—"our Catholics *that will be saved by their works*, and yet will not give God thanks at their meat, for that they will not once have in their mouth the prayer for our queen, annexed to our usual thanksgiving at meat." Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 6.

same reason that the boys tore the title-pages out of Lilly's grammar; the bible, under the patronage of the "Queen of Ireland and Defender of the Faith," with the arms of England, had been made to signify to them the ruin of their national life and of the Irish people.

A war which cost the towns so sore a price, a war in which every one of them took the same part, was not a mere outburst of folly or of bigotry. The sufferings of the boroughs give us the measure of the issues they felt at stake, and the records leave no doubt of the cause of their revolt. A lord chancellor of Henry VIII. had long before given his warning against letting the Irishry enjoy their freedoms: the Scots and wild Irishmen, he said, contend only for liberty.[1] The possession of this individual liberty, wrote an Irishman a hundred years later, is the greatest happiness the Irish desire.[2] But every town now saw its charter and privileges threatened. When Spenser summed up their freedoms and licenses to trade with the Irish, he added the comment, "all which, though at the time of their first grant they were tolerable, and perhaps reasonable, yet now are most unreasonable and inconvenient."

Sidney's "nurseries of civility and monuments of obedience" had to be new planted if they were to be made the English king's forts and garrison for the destruction of Irish life. A

[1] C.S.P. 1549, 103. [2] Camb. Ev. i. 69.

definite policy therefore shaped itself—to break the old charters, to bring the obstinate boroughs to beggary, and foment enmity between town and country, by setting up new markets to wreck their power and privilege. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his company-promoters swept away the royal grants that protected the towns as 1569.
ruthlessly as they banished Irish law. He did not hesitate "to infringe the pretended liberties of any city or town corporate not knowing their charters to further the Queen's Majesty's service, answering them that the Prince had a regular and absolute power, and that which might not be done by the one I would do it by the other in case of necessity." The policy was pursued by later officials. Humble yourselves, Hooker exhorted even the much praised Waterford, to
your prince. "Examine not his authority nor c. 1581
decipher his power: compare not your privileges with his authority, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For, notwithstanding your privileges, liberties, and grants be great and many, yet they can not abate nor impugn the least part of the prince's prerogative: which is so great as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of God's own ordinances."[1] When Waterford pleaded law to a later deputy, 1603.
he would cut king John's charter, answered Mountjoy, with king James' sword.[2]

[1] Hol. vi. 380. [2] Smith's Waterford, 144.

Presently, in fact, the boroughs saw emissaries going about to make enquiries as to their charters,[1] "whereby their city may be ruined, as was the town of Maryborough"—that town
1536. of evil omen, founded in the blood of the Irish, the triumphant centre of the first English
1569. plantation, their borough town to announce the new policy of extermination of the Gaels so that the country "would be desolate of Irishry and made habitable." Poverty and dissension were
1584. to complete the ruin of the towns. It was ordered that two markets at the least should be erected in every county within Munster and continued weekly in meet places, in competition with the borough merchants, so as to prevent their any longer engrossing to themselves the country trade.[2] Waterford and Cork were made
1580. into army stores.[3] At the end of the wars the customs of Cork were only worth £225 in
1610. seven years; Youghal, £70; and Kinsale, £18.[4] Once thriving centres of business were now held by the English as close garrisons in an enemy's land. Dungarvan, much decayed, was under an English constable. Youghal was so famished that it could not even receive the army in circuit. The pier of Kinsale was destroyed and no protection left for shipping:[5] it was no

[1] C.S.P. 1590, 373-4.
[2] Car. ii. 396.
[3] Car. ii. 210.
[4] Tuck. Cork, 80.
[5] Sid. Lett. 91, 102; Tuckey's Cork, 70.

wonder that amid the ruins of their ancient Spanish trade the citizens resolved to "hold their town against all enemies of Christ and the king of Spain." Sidney reported Cork "amended 1576.
as in so few years I have seldom seen any town: if ministration of justice be continued, it will daily multiply in people and amplify in building"; but the city, so wealthy under the Desmonds, was now in fact a mere fortress: the townsmen had each half a soldier's wage. "At this day the city of Cork is so encumbered with unquiet neighbours of great power, that they are forced to watch their gates continually, to keep them shut at service times, at meals, from sunset to sunrising: nor suffer any stranger to enter there with his weapon, but to leave the same at a lodge appointed. They walk out for recreation at seasons, with strength of men furnished."[1] Limerick had a new charter from 1582.
Elizabeth, but the thriving city was in fact ruined: its people now reported "of all Ireland the most tractable": [2] "*it is the poorest city under Her Highness.*" Bad coin and heavy taxes had handed over the people to the usurer. "The poor citizens of Limerick are impoverished by a few rich merchants there through usury," the agent for Limerick wrote to Burghley. The townsmen complained of the suppression of their trade; so that the citizens were forced to turn husband-

[1] Campion, cap. vii. [2] C.S.P. 1590, 341.

men,[1] and prayed for their great poverty that they might have license to trade for 200 tuns of Spanish wines to be transported to Limerick, to be paid for of *such Ireland commodities as are now prohibited.* The Clare side of the river had been taken from them by the new charter and their old limits curtailed. Their wall had fallen down for thirty yards by the river, and when they were about to draw a branch of the Shannon round their north franchises to protect them, they were confounded by prying strangers peering into the question of their charters and whether they had any right to exist at all. The Irish were now "not half a quarter of the number of those which England continually maintaineth."[2] "That poor Irish town,"[3] Davies wrote of the once rich and prosperous Cavan.

We cannot follow the later sufferings of the boroughs. The Irish inhabitants were everywhere degraded, the corporations purged, and the towns planted anew. Galway was not "reformed" till the old citizens' names were obliterated and a new English corporation set up. The great
1652. names of Lynch and French and Blake—men who had given the deepest pledges of submission and loyalty—being still on the roll of mayors and sheriffs, the new planted English inhabitants did petition that the government of the town

[1] C.S.P. 1590, 373-4. [2] C.S.P. 1581, lxxxv.
[3] Davies, 262, D. 1787.

should no longer be in the hands of Irish and Papists but of English and Protestants, and so it was done, and Hurd of infamous memory was acclaimed their mayor.[1] Waterford had years of no settled government, the magistrates for refusing the oath of supremacy turned out and sent prisoners to Cork, and the corporation governed by sheriffs; till Donough earl of Thomond, lord president of Munster in the 1617. name of the English, was sent to seize on the liberties of the city, its ensigns of authority and public revenues, and its charter.[2] In the next dozen years Irish names were replaced by English; Irish merchants, no longer admitted to the government, were tacitly allowed to trade until mayor Bolton showed that neither their 1662. old pretence nor acts or orders of the king could be of any effect to them until they were Protestants.[3]

Every effort was made to drive even the poorer Irish out of the towns, by order of the government, or by pulling down the houses and so casting them out as wanderers. "The lord lieutenant and council by letter ordered the Popish inhabitants to be removed from Galway, 1678. Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, and Drogheda, except some trading merchants, artificers, and others necessary for the towns and

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 501.

[2] Smith's Waterford, 145, 162-6. [3] Ib. 156-7.

garrisons; by virtue whereof many were expelled, but were afterwards re-admitted"[1]—the State being after all unable entirely to do without the population of the country, nor the English masters without servants.

The contrast between the thriving commerce of the Irish with the Low Countries, France, and Spain, and the "reformation" by the English adventurers, has been given by one who saw what he described: "Other nations overflow with abundance of all things: we are emaciated by want. They not only do not lose their civic rights, but make daily accessions to the roll of their citizens: the foreigner is naturalised amongst us; the natives are made alien. In foreign cities majestic piles of new buildings are every day towering to the skies, or old ones are repaired: with us the foundations of not a single house are laid, while the old are heaps of crumbling ruins, their roofs open to the rains, and their adamantine walls rent, or mere shells and shapeless masses. The men who are now at the head of our government, rather than allow the former to rent his own house in the town, leaves it uninhabited. Some mansions have been degraded into workshops of the mechanical arts, or taverns for the revellers, or prisons for the innocents, and daily resound to the noisy hum of the trades, or the yells of the drunkard, or the

[1] Ib. 157. *v.* Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 173.

groans of the afflicted; in others, once adorned with costly furniture, the stranger was ever welcome to the hospitable and splendid board, now he must go to inns or taverns, where food is doled out for money. Commerce was not less busy or profitable in our cities than in those of other countries, but now it has fallen to decay, all right of trading being taken from the natives, though allowed to foreigners of all sorts."[1]

To the onlooker of that day "all the might of English arms, all the devices of English policy, were called into play to plunge the Irish into the abyss of the worst barbarism."[2] The towns had shown that there was no difficulty in conciliation to protect common interests, that Englishmen and Irishmen could work together on equal terms, that, as in other countries at all times, good order was best maintained by a fusion of laws suited to the circumstances of the land, and that under these conditions a great prosperity could be reached, and a common patriotism. But the English government would allow no truce, nor English politicians and adventurers. "For it 1620.
is manifest," the attorney-general Davies wrote, having seen all these things, "that such as had the government of Ireland under the crown of England did intend to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and the Irish, pretending, no doubt, that the English

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 59-63. [2] Ib. i. 223. *v.* app.

should in the end root out the Irish; which, the English not being able to do, caused a perpetual war between the nations, which continued four hundred and odd years, and would have lasted to the world's end."[1] We have the lament of an Irishman of the same period: "That time could not slacken or cool down the fiery ardour of this hatred, that English obstinacy should be eternal, is truly astonishing. Never, since the creation of the world, were hostile feelings so systematically kept alive for such a length of time in any other nation."[2] With every generation the struggle was renewed through centuries of wilful ruin, till of the flourishing markets and fair towns of the Irish nothing was left but a starving village, a dim tradition, a crumbling wall, or the name of a silent meadow, while the ports lay empty and rivers and lakes deserted.

[1] Davies, 76, D. 1787. [2] Camb. Ev. i. 219.

PART II.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING.

VII. IRISH LEARNING.

THE Irish have long been famed for their love 600.
of learning. By their first missionaries they gave to the English the alphabet and the Christian faith. When the English made return by breaking the Irish schools and destroying their libraries, they were still forced to recognise the 1570.
talents of the people—"sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study to which they bend themselves"—"lovers of music, poetry, 1612.
and all kinds of learning."[1]

In Ireland in fact, so long as any independent Irish life survived, the scholar was the most honoured man in the community. The spell of its culture fell on every foreigner who came to make his home in the country—on Norman barons, French soldiers, English citizens of the towns and lords of the Pale. There was a common saying "that ten Englishmen would

[1] Campion, cap. v.; Davies, Hist. Tracts, D. 1787, p. 128. Cf. the line in Hudibras:

"As learned as the wild Irish are."

(l. 538, 1662-1678.)

adopt Irish, for the one Irishman who would adopt English habits."[1] The human fellowship, the gaiety, the urbanity of Irish life, the variety of its ties and the vivacity of its intellectual diversions, and not least its passionate and undying appeal to those who esteemed learning and whatever may feed the life of the mind, drew to it irresistibly all who came within its
1627. circle. "My first endeavour shall be to understand the tongue of this country which I see (although it be accounted otherwise) is a learned and exact language and full of difficulty," so wrote a great scholar from England, bishop Bedell.[2] "Having practised and learned some skill in the Irish tongue," says an English writer of the time of Charles II., "I took great delight therein, finding it to be sharp, sententious, elegant, spacious, and full of delightful knowledge and liberal ingenuity."[3] In spite of every effort of the London officials "for the extincting of amities between the Englishry and the Irishry,"[4] generation after generation of newcomers for 350 years were gathered into the Irish civilisation; until the passion of trade

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 189.

[2] Letters of Bishop Bedell, no. xxxiii.; written immediately after taking up his duties as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Bedell reckoned among his languages Arabic, Hebrew, and Chaldee as well as Italian and the ordinary classics.

[3] Soc. of Ant., Oct. 1871, p. 593. [4] St. Pap. II. iii. 449.

and of plunder quenched in the invaders all other aspirations.

Ireland had her full share in the general life of Europe: her people had hospitality of mind as of manners. All the great mediaeval movements made themselves felt there—the wanderings of peoples, the progress of trade, monastic revivals, the growth of literature and science. But whatever outer influences affected Ireland, the native genius is shown in two arts which Irishmen could not have borrowed, their highly developed system of law, and their subtle metrical system. A people capable of constructing these might be held capable of any high intellectual achievement.

For obvious reasons there was little English learning. The Irish showed indifference to the homilies and moral treatises and tracts to promote Christian and useful knowledge that flourished across St. George's Channel. It was not without reason indeed that they preferred the literary air of Europe to that of England.[1] There was more life in the original model than in the copy, and if Ireland along with other countries borrowed from the writings in vogue at the time, she took the usual commonplaces direct from the Latin sources which influenced the prose writers of England. When a new literary age opened with the poetry of Chaucer, the English people had

[1] See Ker, Med. Lit. "English Prose."

begun, as we shall see, to fence in their places of learning and barricade the Irish out of their society.

In the fifteenth century, however, there was some study of English among cultivated Irishmen. It was not the homilies but travels and stories that they preferred. In one of the mountain peninsulas thrust out from Cork into the Atlantic the chief Fingin O'Mahony had a castle at Rosbrin, under the shadow of mount Gabriel and overlooking the islanded waters of Roaring Bay. "Wild and desolate," modern tourists call it, "the ultimate Thule of civilisation";[1] but in those days it was an intellectual
d. 1496. centre: there O'Mahony, a wise man skilled in the Latin and English, was general supporter of the humanity and hospitality of West Munster.[2] Among the learned men who gathered to his house was Donnell O'Fihely, a scholar who had studied in Oxford, one who was much valued by his countrymen for his unwearied industry in matters relating to history and antiquity: he dedicated to O'Mahony his Annals of Ireland,[3] which passed afterwards into the library of Florence MacCarthy. It was at Rosbrin that
1475. O'Mahony himself made a translation from the English of the travels of Maundeville.[4] Other scholars, unknown to us, took from the English

[1] *v.* app.
[2] 4 M. p. 1225.
[3] Ware's Writers, 90, 107.
[4] Ed. Stokes, Z.C.P. ii. 1.

with less discretion the adventures of Guy of Warwick[1] and Bevis of Hampton, using however the freedom and independence that mark Irish work, and giving chapters and incidents lacking in any other known version. Students of English were scattered over the country. There remain four instances of deeds and arbitrations drawn up in English for some of the leading Galway families.[2] There was a Hugh O'Donnell "the anglicised,"[3] a Neal O'Neill "the anglicised" who talked English and admired English customs, and the wife of O'Reilly was learned in Latin, English, and Irish.[4] A MacDermot was known as Dermot na-nGall, "of the English"; it was told of the prior of Roscommon who went with O'Conor Roe to the deputy that he "spake good English."[5] Margaret O'Conor Faly travelled to London to pray Queen Mary to restore her father from the Tower, relying "on her knowledge of the English language."[6] It is certain that many chiefs had their heirs instructed in English, like the O'Sullivans who were sent to school at Waterford;[7] "The country was not so barbarous," wrote one of them, "but that the heirs thereof were always brought up in learning and civility,

1430. 1449. c. 1480. d. 1490. d. 1496. 1553. 1550. 1562.

[1] Ed. Robinson, Z.C.P. vi. 9.
[2] O'Flaherty, W. Conn. 203.
[3] 4 M. pp. 1149, 1227.
[4] 4 M. p. 1184 n.
[5] St. Kilk. Tr. relat. to I. ii. 13 n.
[6] 4 M. p. 1531.
[7] C.S.P. 1587, 342, 344.

and could speak the English and Latin tongues." One Butler, a Waterfordian sometime scholar to master Peter White, "translated Maturinus Corderius his book of phrases into English."[1]

1562. Robert Garvey of Kilkenny diocese, was noted not only for his skill in civil and canon law, but for "a volubility in the English and Latin tongues."[2] An O'Rourke who ruled in Breffni on the Connacht border was known

1562. as Hugh "Gallda,"[3] the anglicised; and it was

1569. a sort of reproach to the wealthy O'Shaughnessy that he was "not skilled in Latin or English,"[4]

1570. and to MacWilliam of Mayo, "though wanting the English tongue understanding the Latin."

1579. O'Reilly spoke English and Latin.[5] The way of intercourse and comprehension lay open for the English through the intellectual curiosity and the wide sympathies of the Irish. That door as we shall see was rudely closed.

It is evident however that neglect of English speech did not, as the English reported, make the Irish barbarians. It was to the Continent they looked rather than to England. "The Latin education of Ireland began earlier and was better maintained than in other countries."[6] For

[1] Hol. vi. 57. [2] Wood, Oxf. Writers, 201.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 414. [4] 4 M. p. 1631. [5] C.S.P. 1579, 170.

[6] Ker, Dark Ages, 319-20. Archbishop Brown reported the Irish clergy who showed themselves discontented at his violences to be so ignorant of Latin speech "that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country"; which probably indicates a quarrel

twelve hundred years letters, science, architecture, 400-
the changing fashions of the goldsmith's craft, 1600.
came to her direct from the great Continent, to be altered and adapted by the living Irish genius. Her people were in the current of the larger world. Its tidings were carried over by the succession of Irish scholars who never ceased to travel over Europe in search of knowledge, by the constant stream of pilgrims to Compostella and Rome, by Irish merchants as much at home in Spain or France or Italy as in Ireland, by visitors and traders coming from the Continent. It was through Rome that the Irish 1450.
heard of the English disasters in their French wars.[1] There was possibly indeed a school of the Irish in Rome: if so it had a vivid Irish tradition and life of its own well supported from home: "Tadhg the Black," we read, "son of 1466.
Brian Mac Gilla Coisgle died . . . a man of great consideration in Ireland and in Italy; for it is he that exacted the eric of Cuchulainn from the Connacians in Rome."[2] Foreign pilgrims to S. Patrick's Purgatory travelled from Lombardy, Florence, Lucca, Rimini, Hungary, France, Spain, 1400-
and Holland.[3] German earls and merchants came 1600.

as to the theories of pronunciation that were advocated by Burghley and his friends of the Reformation at Cambridge. Hume's Burghley, 9.

[1] 4 M. p. 971 n. [2] An. Uls. iii. 217.

[3] Gilb. Viceroys, 212-13; Bellesheim, i. 581; Hol. vi. 36; 4 M. p. 1239 n., 1335; Camb. Ev. i. 150 n., 153-4.

to visit the island:[1] and it was probably some old connection of family or trade that drew to Ireland Sir Matthew de Renzi, a citizen of
1622. Cologne.[2]

Travellers poured out too from Ireland. Wandering poets, pilgrims and travellers, traversed Spain and Italy, crossed Europe, sailed the Adriatic, journeyed in the Levant.[3] One Kilbride made a song of his tempestuous eastern pilgrimage, his three months' buffeting at sea against head winds and the incompetence of his navigator groping about into a succession of bad landfalls. "Let us take a hardy course: these clouds are from the north-east; let us then leave the foothills of the stormy peaks of Greece, and strive to make Damietta. Dark are these clouds out of the east, that from Acras[4] come in our teeth. Come, O Mary Magdalen,
c. 1213- and altogether clear the sky!"[5] Another poet,
24.

[1] C.S.P. 1572, 479; 1579, liiii. lv. 169-71.

[2] Matt. de Renzi, a native of Germany, obtained a grant from James I. of upwards of 1000 acres of the forfeited lands of the Irish provided he should not take the name of Roirke, O'Molloy, the Fox, Mac Coghlan or O'Doyne (Dun), nor receive or pay Irish rent, taxes or services, or divide his land according to the Irish custom of gavelkind. It is said in his epitaph in Athlone Church: "He was a great traveller and general linguist, and kept correspondency with most nations in many weighty affairs, and in three years gave great perfection to this nation *by composing a grammar, dictionary, and chronicle in the Irish tongue.*" Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii. 12 n. *v.* app.

[3] *v.* app. [4] Acre? [5] O'Gr. Cat. 336.

homeward bound, wrote with much affection to Cathal O'Conor from the Adriatic.[1] We read of the grey friar Hugo de Hibernia, a traveller 1360. who wrote an Itinerary.[2] The apparition of David Fitzgerald is too glorious to be omitted; "David Fitzgerald, usually called David Duff [or Black Daniel], born in Kerry, a civilian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of music, skilful in physic, a good and general craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who coming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothing but such as was of his own making; his shoes, his pattens, his cloak, his coat, the ring that he did wear, with a signet therein very perfectly wrought, were all made by him. He played excellently on all kind of instruments, and sung thereto his own verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logic, rhetoric, and philosophy he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none":[3] so this shining figure appears, clear evidence of the Greek heritage claimed by the poets for the Fitzgerald race, limited by no date, suddenly irradiating Stanihurst's lists of learned men with the glories not yet extinct of a heroic age.

The roll of scholars stretches unbroken across the middle ages. "The company that read all books, they of the church and of the poets

[1] Ib. 338. [2] Hol. vi. 61. *v.* app. [3] Hol. vi. 60. *v.* app.

both: such of these as shall be perfect in knowledge, forsake not thou their intimacy ever,"[1] so an Irish bard counselled his chief, and of such students known to Europe there was no lack. Dim names come down to us—Petrus Hybernicus scholar[2]—Thomas Hybernus[3] born in Palmerstown near the Naas, "who proceeded doctor of divinity in Paris, a deep clerk and one that read much as may easily be gathered by his learned works."

1320. David Obuge was born in the town of Kildare, and here he died; "for his learned lectures and subtle disputations openly published in Oxford and Trèves in Germany, he was taken for the gem and lantern of his country. . . . Over this he was so politic a counsellor, that the nobility and estates in causes of weight would have recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophy an Aristotle, in eloquence a Tully, in divinity an Augustine, in the civil law a Justinian, in the canon a Panormitane."[4] During his travels he ran up against another Irishman of foreign renown, one of the Geraldines, and Italy and England resounded with their controversy, David being suddenly disclosed as an Angliciser. "In his time Giraldus Bononiensis being master general of the Carmelites was at

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 486. [2] Hol. vi. 63. [3] Hol. vi. 65.

[4] *v.* app.

jar with William Lidlington, the provincial of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon ten of the wisest and learnedest Carmelites that were then resiant in England, being fully elected to resist their general, Obuge was chosen to be the foreman of all the said [English] crew. Giraldus Bononiensis understanding that he being an Irishman was so hot in the controversy, was eagerly bent against Obuge, because he assured himself to have had favour at his hands by reason Obuge was born in that country where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and thereupon he was banished Italy. This storm in process of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the general guardian of all his fraternity in Ireland: which country by his continual teaching and preaching was greatly edified."[1] Another scholar of that time, Radulphus Kelly, who wrote a book on canon law and made excursions also into the region of *belles lettres* with one or more volumes of familiar letters, had also been brought up in Kildare, where he profited so well in Latin that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Pope Clement VI. as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the general advocate or deputy for the Carmelites, and later archbishop of Cashel.[2] 1345.

[1] Hol. vi. 62-3; MacGeoghegan, 289.

[2] Hol. vi. 61; Ware's Bishops, 478.

High above all the Irish scholars on the continent stands the great figure of Maurice de Portu or O'Fihely, a native of county Cork, (brother perhaps of O'Mahony's friend Donnell) who passed from his Oxford studies to become
1488. regent of the Franciscan Schools at Milan and
1491. regent doctor in theology at Padua with "universal applause"; known as *Maurice de Hibernia* there and in Venice, where he helped some of the great printers of the time in their learned editions, ("an office which the greatest and most learned men of that age thought worthy of their employment"). He was a writer of many books, and of a very great repute, "profoundly learned in the logics, philosophy, metaphysics, and divinity. It is difficult to relate with what humanity, sanctity of manners he was adorned"—the Flower of the world, *Flos Mundi*, to those who knew him.[1]

There must have been many Irish professors in Spain, many in Italy and France whose names might still be discovered. Thomas O'Hurley,
d. 1542 "an exquisite divine" brought up in Italy,[2] may have been the canonist of great reputation who

[1] Hol. vi. 62; Ware's Bishops, 614. For his works see Ware's Writers of Irel. p. 91. He was minister of Ireland and took a prominent part in deposing the General, Aegidius Delphinus, in the first *capitulum generalissimum* at Rome in that year (1506). Julius II. made him archbishop of Tuam: he was present at the Lateran Council (1512), died the next year (1513), and was buried among the Grey Friars of Galway Little's Grey Friars in Oxford, 267.

[2] Hol. vi. 63.

erected a college for secular priests in his own church at Emly.[1] After him was Dermot O'Hurley who took his lawyer's degree at Louvain, studied then in Paris and became professor at Louvain and afterwards at Rheims.[2] 1559.

There was a succession of scholars in Paris. Theodore Anguilbert, doctor of physic of the University of Paris, printed there a book of Table-talk, and professed himself an Irishman. 1530.

One Daly was schooled in the University of Paris; having a pretty insight in scholastical divinity, he made "Diversas conciones."[3] Also Thomas Long proceeded at Paris, doctor of both civil and canon law, a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholastical divinity, a pretty Latinist.[4] 1576.

Oliver Hussey was professor of the arts in Douay.[5] a. 1575.

Thady Dun carried the learning he had got in an Irish school to Lucerne where he was physician: he dedicated a book to his friend Lewis Roncus—"They were of the same country," he wrote, "educated at the same school, and that being both banished for religion, they had suffered great and numberless troubles on that account."[6] 1591.

Continental learning was carried over to Ireland itself. Greek was studied in early times. A collection of sayings translated by some Irish scholar in

[1] Ware's Bishops, 499.
[2] Dic. Nat. Bio.
[3] Hol. vi. 58.
[4] Hol. vi. 61.
[5] Hol. vi. 61.
[6] Ware's Writers, 100.

Ireland from the Greek into Latin before the seventh century survives in the "Proverbia Grecorum";[1] Greek was taught in the dark ages in Irish schools, and Greek manuscripts remain copied by Irish hands.[2] But the knowledge of Greek after the tenth century has not yet been examined by scholars.[3] Archbishop Ussher tells of a church at Trim which still kept in 1632 the name of "the Greek Church," or according to a visitation book "the Greek School."[4] Roderick Cassidy was known as "the Grecian."[5]

[1] K. Meyer, Triads.

[2] R.I.A., 3rd series, ii. 1891-3, p. 187. See the curious entry in Thesaurus, pal. hib., ed. Stokes and Strachan, ii. 285; and the Greek fragment written in Latin letters, Rev. Celt. xxvi. 384-5.

[3] "Praeter monachos, sanctimonalium quoque congregationem, si non heic, certe Euttingae, villa haud procul dissita, quondam extitisse constans persuasio est, et hodie, dum supersunt nomina quarundam Abbatissarum et Monialium, ad calcem Diplomatarii miscelli B. legenda: quas inter eminebat Leukardis, de gente, ut aiunt, Scotorum quattuor linguarum, patriae suae, graecae, latinae, theotiseae gnara, quae plures sua manu codices in membrana exaravit, hodie subtractos, quorum alicui sequentes versiculi inserti legebantur." Mon. Boica (ed. Acad. Scient. Boici) (Monumenta Mallerstorpensia), xv. p. 249. Munich, 1787. The nunnery at Euttingen, which was connected with the neighbouring Benedictine monastery of Kalbersdorf near Regensburg, was founded in 1109. Leukardis, who is described in the list of inmates given at the end of Diplomatarium miscellium B as "uxor," lived apparently in the first half of the twelfth century. The fact that she is described as "uxor" seems to point to a survival of the Keltic monastic tradition in south Germany. Ib. pp. 248, 432.

[4] Soc. of Ant., Ap. 1873, 388; Ware's Ant. 194.

[5] Bellesheim, ii. 28.

There is no doubt as to Latin learning among laymen. The Irish poets were qualified to take part with the bishops in council: "the poets and bishops of Ireland were gathered to Armagh, 1170. and there they considered what was the cause of the plague of outlanders upon them."[1] All 1466. missives from Dublin merchants to the Irish 1240. were in Latin.[2] Felim O'Connor used it before Henry III., as MacGillapatrick's envoy did before 1522. Henry VIII., for Latin was the second language of the educated Irishman, taught in every school, used by traders, by students, by chiefs, and by the educated women. Desmond's Irish councillors 1529. understood Latin, and Shane O'Neill wrote in 1560. Latin to the earl of Essex and Charles IX. of France and the cardinal of Lorraine. When James FitzMaurice called all Ireland to join his 1579. rising, his appeal was sent out in English to the gentry of the Pale, in Latin to the Irish. The Spanish captain Cuellar, shipwrecked from the Armada, wandered for nine months in the mountains of Connacht and Ulster, and found

[1] "This they all understood, that it was because of buying children from the English, for the English, when they were in want of wealth, used to sell their children to the Irish (as slaves). And God does not inflict more punishment on him who sells his children than on him who buys them. They therefore counselled that all the English they held in bondage should be let go free. And thus was it done." Irish Abridgement of "Expugnatio Hibernica" ed. Stokes. Eng. Hist. Rev. Jan. 1905, p. 87.

[2] Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 323. MacMahon wrote Latin, 1569. C.S.P., 416.

the "savages" speaking Latin—a clerk hidden in a lay habit, a poor scholar in the hills who sheltered him in his hut on a bed of straw, the chiefs O'Rourke and MacClancy, and it would seem also the women of their houses.[1]

We have an account of an Irish school by an Englishman, a partial observer, whose purpose was the destruction of Irish culture to replace
1574 it by English obedience: "Without any precepts or observation of congruity they speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of Leachcraft and Law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Pandects of Justinian, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen there where they kept school, ten in some one chamber grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by piece-meal, being the most part lusty fellows of 25 year and upwards."[2] Thus Campion dis-

[1] Letter of Capt. Cuellar, Sedgwick.

[2] Campion, cap. vi., does not say where he "had seen" the school. Stanihurst, Hol. vi. 68, repeating his friend's information, enlarges the description of one school to a universal practice—"in their schools they grovell upon couches of straw," etc. Commentators on Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto x. 136, explain "vico delgi strame" from the straw on which scholars sat, only using benches in churches; and "rue de Fouarre" from the "straw-strewn floors of schools." The theory, whether true or not, is not used as a reproach to the scholars of Paris.

missed a subject of which he had scanty knowledge, perhaps none outside Dublin.

A sure evidence however that the mediaeval Irish were in touch with the literary life of the Continent lies in the Celtic translations of Latin and French texts[1] throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which were made in the very schools so curtly condemned by Campion. In mediaeval Ireland there was a demand for the old tales and histories of Greece and Rome and for more modern travels, for the romances of the Grail and for French songs or legends, for historical dissertations, and for the wonder-world of apocalypse and Gnostic visions. And there were Irish writers able to supply translations full of freedom and vigour, with a scholarship beyond all cavil, whose work occasionally gives passages not to be found in any known version—either original or else preserving for us some old material not yet discovered elsewhere. We may judge of the interest in continental literature by the library of the earl of Kildare, where he had 1514-35. thirty-four Latin books, thirty-six French, twenty-two English, and over twenty Irish.[2]

The books borrowed by the Irish were much the same as those translated in other countries. Latin as a cosmopolitan language handed on the formal commonplaces of the decaying Roman Empire—

[1] A list is given on p. 261 ; cf. Rev. Celt. x. 178, 416, 463.

[2] O'Gr. Cat. 154.

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formulae that had ceased to have the vigour of national vitality behind them, but potent enough to dominate the average mind by a lingering prestige. If we may judge by art, the impact of Europe on Ireland was both impressive and dangerous. Such a work as the *Domnach Airgid*, the "Silver Shrine" of Clones in Monaghan, illustrates the successive stages of a real Irish art of the twelfth century, overlaid by the hand of an Irish artist under foreign influences of about 1360, and finally by the cheap and facile cosmopolitan work of the fifteenth century, with all trace of Irish ornament lost. In literature there was a double current of thought, and notable instances survive of the revolt of Irish scholars against foreign conventions of Latin teaching, which were profoundly opposed to the lessons of new experience and of national life, and which have themselves in modern times faded out of existence.

In matters of science we can see that Ireland followed closely all that was being done on the Continent. Irish scribes cited for their ecclesiastical calendars[1] the leading authorities of the
1582. foreign schools; and the Gregorian Calendar, drawn up by the greatest men of science in Europe, was in use in Connacht and Ulster the next year. There was much interest in astronomy, to judge from the amount of astronomical writings stored in the Irish libraries,

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 285-327.

still unedited.[1] One remarkable treatise was written at a time when the study of astronomy had scarcely begun in Europe—a discussion of how to ascertain the size of the earth by eclipses.[2] It is worthy of notice that Leonardo da Vinci not only uses the same optical argument about the eclipse of the fixed stars, but illustrates it with a similar diagram, showing the direction and effect of the shadow cast by the earth. Leonardo refers to Poseidonius, and if we suppose—what cannot be proved—that he had access to this or some other ancient authority, the Irish astronomer may have learned from the same source. In any case the diagram and demonstration throw light on the advanced state of knowledge in Ireland, for this early astronomer must have been a man either of original power or of great erudition; and the problem which he presented was not finally solved till the eighteenth century. c. 1400.

In the study of medicine Irish doctors were in no way behind their continental brethren, so that, as scholars have pointed out, no better physicians were to be found in the court of Henry VIII. or Elizabeth than in the houses of the Irish chiefs.[3] They had a full and not

[1] See O'Grady, Cat. MSS. 323.

[2] See Green, Illust. Hist. Eng. ii. 908, lxxxi.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 172; Moore's Med. in Irel. Barth. Hosp. Rep. xi. William Kelly was long surgeon to the privy council in Dublin. C.S.P. 1582, 368.

unscientific array of remedies: an Irish writer on the healing properties of plants gives a list of over two hundred and eighty substances, mineral, animal and vegetable, to be used for medical purposes,[1] and in his work he not only culled and condensed from a long array of learned sources but probably added matter of his own. Besides the "beautiful herb-garden" near Dungannon there were probably others that gave their name to places now corrupted into Luffertane, Lorton, and Lower-town.[2]

The names of many leading physicians survive. Among the storm-swept moorlands of Donegal, where relics of primeval forests gleam white from the bogs, and the dark-hued mountains give shelter to falcons and golden eagles, lived the MacDunlevys, the famous hereditary physicians of the O'Donnells, men "of consideration and great power," who like the O'Clerys descended from chiefs once equal to O'Donnell himself,[3] and now revived in the world of learning the

[1] Rev. Celt. ix. 224; O'Grady, Cat. 223. The defects in the Museum treatise in materia medica are supplied by Lord Crawford's medical MS. now in the Rylands Library, Manchester. For the discovery of this MS. by Dr. Stokes (1896) and the additions made from it to the lists of substances used in medical practice which he had previously drawn up (1888), see Academy, May 16, 1896, pp. 406-7.

[2] "The town of MacDonnell, *i.e.* Cnoc-an-Chluiche [Knockinclohy], was burned by O'Donnell, and a beautiful herb garden there was cut down and destroyed by his forces"; 4 M. pp. 1365-7. See Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc., 1846, i. 131.

[3] 4 M. p. 742 n.

dignity and hospitality of ancient rulers. There 1395.
was Muiris, "physician of the schools: he himself
shall not exist but his fame shall be!";[1] Cormac, 1450.
who wrote a vellum MS. on medicine now in
the British Museum; Donnchadh, "a doctor of 1526.
medicine and learned in other sciences, a man
of great affluence and wealth, and who kept a
house of hospitality"; Eoghan—all of them 1586.
men noted for more than professional learning—
a race of scholars who were to be driven out
with the rest of their people in the extirpation
under James I.[2] At the other end of Ireland
the fame of the O'Callanans of Carbery lived
in the proverb—"O'Callanan himself cannot cure
him."[3] One of the race wrote a medical treatise
with the doctor of the O'Briens O'Hickey;[4] and 1403.
another with his master O'Huallahan translated 1414.
a Latin manuscript into Irish.[5]

The Irish-writing doctors of the middle ages used the medical books approved in the great schools of Europe. Like their fellow-students on the Continent they were scholastics, living at a time when Arabian influence was supreme in Europe,[6] and they accepted the best learning of their own day. A fragment of an Irish treatise

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 331; 4 M. p. 1389.
[2] Moore's Med. in Irel. Barth. Hosp. Rep. xi.
[3] Smith's Cork. i. 32. [4] O'Grady, Cat. 222.
[5] 4 M. p. 817 n.; O'Grady, Cat. 358; *v.* app.
[6] O'Gr. Cat. 171-285.

on surgery has lately been discovered in the Bodleian,[1] on one page of which Dr. Stokes has found the names of Avicenna, Guido de Cauliaco, and Lanfranc of Milan, quoted as authorities. When it became the fashion to produce editions and translations of the "*Lily of the Art of Medicine*" by the excellent Master Bernard de Gordon of Montpelier, an Irish scholar was
1482. early in the field,[2] working from a Latin manuscript. From the bold square hand the translation seems to have been written by Domhnall albanach O'Troighthigh in Clare, and it was certainly the work of a genuine scholar: "the mediaeval Irish," Mr. S. H. O'Grady says of it, "were when they gave their minds to it admirable translators, and could solve the problem of how to render closely from a strange tongue without distorting the idiom of their own." The great earl of Kildare bought the book for his library, and an inscription was added to ask for "a prayer for Gerald the Earl, Lord Justice of Ireland, who bought this book for twenty cows. Two-and-twenty skins in this book." From his library it returned again to Clare there to remain.[3]

[1] Arch. Seld. supra, 32.

[2] O'Gr. Cat. 202. The first Naples edition was in 1480, the first French translation in 1495, and the first Spanish in 1494.

[3] It is said by John Windele to have been bought by the earl of Desmond from the Lord Justice, but no reference is given. (Kilk. Arch. J. 1857, July, 372.) He also states that

Leading lawyers of mediaeval Ireland, no less than the doctors, were educated in the learning of the Continent and of England, besides the study of their national codes. The annals tell of honoured jurists: the great line of the MacEgans—among them Maelisa the most learned man in Ireland in law and judicature, "a sage without contention or reproach who kept a house of general hospitality for all comers"; Aedh ollave of Lower Connacht "the most eloquent man of the Irish of his time"; and Gilla-na-naev ollave of Munster "a great author of Irish laws"; the unbroken line too of the MacClancys of Thomond, ollaves to the Dal-Cais; and many others. We must not suppose that these jurists knew nothing but the Brehon code. Take for example MacMailin chief professor of the law of New Witness, of both ancient and canon law; O'Gibellan of Sligo, a "professor of the old and new laws, civil and canon, a cunning and skilful philosopher, an excellent poet, learned in many other good sciences"; O'Naan "professor of many sciences and of the Civil and Canon law"; down to Teige O'Beirne, "a learned student very celebrated for his knowledge of the civil and canon

d. 1318.

d. 1443.

d. 1443.

d. 1322.

d. 1328.

d. 1336.

d. 1580.

sixty milch cows were paid for its transcription in Scotland. One of the very finest vellum medical MSS. of the 15th century in the King's Inns Library is not generally known. It was transcribed by William mac an Legha, *i.e.* son of the physician. The cream-yellow pages might have been written yesterday.

law." There must have been teaching of continental law in Ireland itself, if we judge by the position that Irish students took in foreign universities; such as Dermot O'Hurley,[1] brought up in Ireland, who after two years' study in Louvain took his degree with great applause in
c. 1550. civil and canon law, and was made professor both there and at Rheims.[2]

Our knowledge of the Irish legal system remains at present in many ways incomplete. English invaders, bent on the destruction of Irish law, overwhelmed it with loud contempt, nor can we learn anything from a general condemnation by enemies who in fact themselves knew nothing of either the principles or the practice of the Brehon code. Modern study of Irish jurisprudence is hindered, since the text of the five volumes of Brehon laws printed is untrustworthy, and much of the translation mere unlucky guess-work.[3] There has been similar guess-work, also unlucky, as to the administration of the laws. No attempt has yet been made to study the only period after the English invasion when, under the rule of the Fitzgeralds, the law of the people was fairly administered by the

[1] Dic. Nat. Bio. [2] *v.* app.

[3] Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, xv Rom. Abtheilung. Prof. Zimmer says "the edition is, as regards the text, more than imperfect, and the English rendering in all cases of difficulty is absolutely worthless." This translation is from Henderson's Leabhar nan Gleann, p. 41.

governors for the peace of Ireland, and the results of that reasonable experiment.

It will need in fact long labour of scholars before the range of Irish learning in the middle ages can be known. The varied evidences of civilization that we already possess show however that the country was not savage, ignorant, and outside the circle of European civilization. Ireland would seem to have had a culture like that of other western countries of that time. She had learned men, not only clerics but a large class of laymen, who studied letters, theology, astronomy, medicine, and law; her people, in touch through their trade, their travellers, their scholars, their general knowledge of Latin, with continental art and science, were willingly open to foreign influences and read the books of western Europe. Education was widely distributed in schools very varied in character—monastic, bardic, and municipal—but all of them full of vitality and movement. That they were fitted to train men in erudition and science is plain from the success of the Irish in universities over-sea. That Irishmen were eager for knowledge we may see from the multitude of her pilgrims of learning. The country might honourably boast of the number of her scholars and of their fame.

The irreparable calamity of the nation was that all this learning was allowed no natural growth or harvest in Ireland. No group of

Irish scholars might gather in a university in their own land. There had been three attempts to found a university in Ireland, all blighted from their birth.[1] The mysterious extinction of these shadowy schools seems to have been part of the official policy—the same policy that was shown under Elizabeth in the vehement opposition to proposals for a new college in Dublin. No better means of disintegration in fact could have been devised than a system which sent every scholar abroad to take his degree, and when he had taken it, refused him any official post at home, or any possibility of gathering pupils in a school of University studies in Ireland. For thus no corporate group of graduate scholars could be formed, no continuous tradition of men united in learning. The long years of foreign study which we find in notices of scholars,[2] what are these but a sign of their practical banishment from intellectual work in their own land? It was the doom of Ireland to send unwillingly her successive generations to swell the list of continental scholars, and ever to drain herself bare of the genius she had created.

1315. 1320. 1465.

[1] Ware's Bishops, 330; Ware's Ant. 242; Hol. vi. 58, 64.

[2] *v.* p. 289. Philip Marchin, "a poor Irishman lately taken by the French, . . . having studied five years in this university, and two and a half in France, and seven at home in civil and canon law." 1512. Oxf. Reg. 85.

SOME IRISH TRANSLATIONS.

A friend has very kindly given me the following list of Irish translations from Latin, French or Spanish. No complete list can be made till the Irish manuscripts in Dublin and elsewhere have been fully catalogued.

The Travels of Maundeville, from the English. Ed. Stokes, Z.C.P. ii. 1.

Guy of Warwick, from the English. Ed. Robinson, Z.C.P. vi. 9.

Bevis of Hampton, from the English. Ib. 273.

The Gaelic version of Marco Polo, abridged with great freedom from the Latin of Francesco Pipino. Ed. Stokes, Z.C.P. i. 245.

The version of the Aeneid by an Irishman whose translation shows his scholarship in Latin and Gaelic to be "beyond all cavil." Calder, The Irish Æneid, London 1907, p. xv.

A version of the story of Ulysses (Uilix mac Lertis), ed. K. Meyer, "The Irish Odyssey." London, 1885.

The Destruction of Troy, founded on Dares Phrygius. Ed. Stokes, two recensions, one from H. 2. 17, Ir. Texts, ii. pt. 1, Leipzig 1884, and the other from the Book of Leinster, 397-408. Calcutta, 1881.

A free version of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. Books i.-vii. In *Cath Catharda* now in press. Ed. Stokes.

The history of Philip and Alexander. From Leabar Brec, ed. Meyer, Ir. Texte, ii. p. 2.

The Story of Hercules and the Grief of Deianira, from H. 2. 7, p. 258, not yet edited; *v.* Rev. Celt. x. 179.

The Quest of the Grail. Stowe MS. 992 (R.I.A., D. 4. 2), not yet edited; *v.* Rev. Celt. x. 184. Two fragments, iv. 381, and *v.* Trip. Life, p. xxxviii. Another fragment, Rev. Celt. xxvii. 81.

A translation of parts of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Laud, 610, ff. 87b-92a, not yet edited. See K. Meyer, Z.C.P. ii. 321.

Abridgment of Giraldus Cambrensis' Expugnatio Hibernica. Ed. Stokes, Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan. 1905.

The Irish Nennius, ed. Todd (Historia Britonum), Dublin, and *v.* Zimmer, "Nennius Vindicatus."

The Theban War, founded on Statius' Thebais. Eg. 1701, ff. 87-120, and a fragment in H. 2. 7, pp. 457-460.

A translation of Heliodorus' novel "Aegyptiaca," in manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Barlaam and Josaphat, from the Latin of Johannes Damascenus, Eg. 136, fo. 57a.

Fierabras, founded on an Old French chanson de geste. Ed. Stokes, Rev. Celt. xix. pp. 14, 118, 252, 364.

Vision of Merlin, ed. by R. A. Stewart Macalister. Z.C.P. iv. 304. See ibid. v. 186.

The Dialogue of the Body and the Soul, ed. Doltin, Rev. Celt. xxiii. 8-38.

Life of St. Fursa, Rev. Celt. xxv. 388-400. A version of chap. 19 of Bede's Eccl. History.

Life of St. Martin of Tours, from the Latin of Sulpicius Severus, Rev. Celt. ii. 384-402.

Dígal Fola Críst (Revenge for Christ's Blood), from the mediaeval French Vengeance du Sauveur. See for MSS. Lismore Lives, vi.

Turpin, or the Conquests of Charlemagne, Bk. of Lismore, ff. 54-66. Lismore Lives, xviii.

Historia Lombardica, Bk. of Lismore, ff. 70-78.

Laud Misc. 610 f. 25a contains a tract which tells of the circuit made by St. Paphnutius in the desert and the miracles wrought by him there, also of his presence at the self-deposition of pope Marcellinus. There is an imperfect copy in the Leabar Brecc, printed as Nos. iii. and iv. in Atkinson's Passions and Homilies. But there are $5\frac{1}{2}$ columns in Laud which are not in the L. Br. The Laud copy begins "Bái comthinól manach cráibdech ocht bliadna hi tír Égept"—*i.e.* "There was a company of ascetic monks for eight years in Egypt."

There is also a fragment in the *Leabar Brecc*, printed in Atkinson's *Passions and Homilies*, pp. 55-59.

A third fragment is in the Bodleian. It is in MS. Ashm. 1763, pp. 167a-168a. The corresponding part of the copy in Laud 610 begins in fo. 25bl. The Irish title is *Stair manach n-Égipte*, "Story of the monks of Egypt." It is either translated from, or founded on, a Latin original.

The originals have not been discovered of the "Ever-new Tongue," ed. Stokes, Eriu. iii. 1.

Or of the "Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday," ed. Stokes, Rev. Celt. xxviii. 308.

The Spanish Homer, in Irish, was printed in 1616. See Dix and Cassedy's list of Irish printing. The

Spanish Homer is Palafox y Mendoza (Juan de), Bishop of (1) Puebla de los Angeles, and (2) of Osma. Flor. 17th cent. The work translated into Irish was no doubt his "El Pastor de Noche Buena." Eng. trans. publ. 1735, and Dublin (1740?), "The New Odyssey, by the Spanish Homer: being the travels of the Christian Hero Ulysses Desiderius Pius, throughout the Universe... Now first trans. into English [by A. P.] Lond. 1735." If the date 1616 given by Mr. Dix is correct, the Irish ed. must have appeared about the same time as the original. His only authority is a sale catalogue.

VIII.

THE IRISH AT OXFORD.

As "the Emperor's law" was required in a trading country, and the canon law in one attached to the Roman See, so the law of England was necessary to be known after the invasion of settlers from England.[1] When the two peoples lived side by side, married and tilled the soil together, there came changes in the laws and customs of both. There were new leases and mortgages, new modes of inheritance and the holding of land. Theories were put forward, unknown to Irish jurisprudence, of the English king's rights, of the grants he made as a "conqueror," and of his "inheritance" again by English feudal custom of those same grants —a vicious circle of confiscation. There were questions of taxation, of the constitutional place of parliament, of the final authority by which new laws were to be made for Ireland. To the Irish these were problems of life and death. The great landowners needed lawyers trained in both codes; the chiefs to whom treaties were offered couched in unknown terms, or English

[1] *v.* app.

titles that carried obscure obligations, or who were summoned to pass laws devised by Englishmen, under the ill-defined constitution and dubious practice of a Pale parliament, needed no less the help of trained advisers.

So it came about that Oxford, Cambridge, the London Inns of Court, were thronged with Irish students, graduates, sergeants, apprentices of the law.[1] Oxford had no sooner risen to
1167. the dignity of a *Studium Generale* or University,
1214. with a Chancellor,[2] than students flocked to it from all the four Provinces[3] of Ireland in such numbers as to form one of the most important
a. 1252. "southern nations" of the university. There was already an Yrysshemanstrete, an Ireland Meadow on the west of South Bridge, an Irishman's Mede belonging to Brasenose, an Irishman's Pool and Piscaria in Holywell.[4] Irish
a. 1255. scholars gathered in "the ancient Patrikehall"—"Aula Hibernorum";[5] there were halls set apart for law students—Aula Aquilae or Hyron hall, Vine hall, Aristotle hall, Coventry hall, and others were either Irish, or enrolled Irish students—de la Schield hall, la Chymney hall, Dunstan, and some of the old neighbouring

[1] St. H. IV.; Gilb. Viceroys, 308; *v.* app.

[2] Rashdall, Universities ii. 338-61.

[3] Ib. 362; Macleane, Pembroke Coll. 45.

[4] Cart. of S. Frideswides, i. 369, 370, 372; Wood's Oxford, i. 363, 365 n., 458.

[5] Cart. of S. Frideswides, i. 446, 485; Reg. Exet. Coll. 364.

halls,[1] while the ancient Bovina or Beef hall was inhabited by Irish clerks.[2]

Some of these Irish scholars rose to posts of importance, as Master Mody of Hibernia 1313.
Principal of Ape hall, and Master Laurence of 1314.
Hibernia Principal of St. Andrew's hall, and Richard Fitz-Ralph born in Dundalk, who was Chancellor of the university.[3] Besides the 1333.
students of the halls there were others unattached, poor scholars who begged their way to Oxford after the fashion of all mediaeval universities. Like their English and Scotch brethren, these "Irish and Welsh vagabonds" crowded into wretched lodgings, where they lived by begging and by licenses to sing *Salve Regina* at rich men's doors, and "in the habit of poor scholars" disturbed the peace of the University by the lively disorders of youth and of poverty.[4]

This frequent resort of the Irish to Oxford lasted for some 200 years, when it was suddenly brought to an end. The Pale parliament under Henry IV. passed a law that "no Irishman 1410.
adhering to the enemies shall be suffered henceforth to pass over the sea, by colour of going to the schools of Oxford, Cambridge, or elsewhere":

[1] Wood's Oxford, i. 162, 171, 181, 190, 587, 639-40; Macleane, Pembroke Coll. 48.

[2] Wood's Oxford, i. 211, 590.

[3] Wood's Oxford, i. 509, 510; cf. 189; Ware's Bishops, 81-2.

[4] Macleane, Pembroke Coll. 32.

anyone might arrest him and bring him to the king's jail, and he that taketh him shall have half his goods.[1] Scholars of the Pale however were allowed to go to the universities with leave under the great seal. Henry v. had no sooner come to the throne than a series of statutes went forth for the ruin of Ireland men
1413. at Oxford. All absentees in England were ordered home for the defence of their lands against the Irish enemy there. Irishmen were to be "voided out of the realm" of England, excepting graduates of schools and professed religious persons.[2] "Clerks beggars," all those "called by the wicked name of 'chamber deacons,'" all unattached students of the Irish, were to be driven out of Oxford. Graduates, sergeants, and apprentices in the law were still tolerated. But new statutes deprived Irishmen of the right to practise their learning. If a scholar from Ireland expected to use an Oxford training as a means for a professional living, that hope was to be withered at the roots.

The young men's studies in divinity and law were intended no doubt to fit them for posts at home, as clerks, secretaries, agents, legal
1416. advisers, and interpreters. But Henry v. now enacted[3] that no Irish prelate, who in spite of

[1] 11 Henry IV. c. 24; Haverty, 315; *v.* app.

[2] 1 H. V. cap. 8; *v.* 4 Rot. Parl. pp. 13, 102, 190, 254, 255.

[3] Engl. St. 4 H. V. cap. 6; *v.* app.

the laws had been given a bishopric in Irish territory, say in Thomond or Mayo, should henceforth bring any Irish servants to parliament or councils or other assemblies, "whereby the *secrets of Englishmen* have been and be daily discovered to the Irish people, rebels to the king," to the peril of liege people. At the same time, and probably under the same influence, the London Inns of Court also used their powers to restrain or limit the number of students from Ireland, and in the Middle Temple not one was allowed.[1] This combined banning of the Irish from English education alarmed the gentry of the Pale: they prayed the English privy council that when 1417.
Irishmen were sent back there should be excepted beneficed clergy, law students, and scholars studying at the universities; the Dublin parliament 1429
declared that after the death of the existing lawyers there would be none in Ireland who knew the English law, and petitioned that law students be not forbidden to go to the Inns of Court.[2] Their complaint seems to have been vain, for a hundred years later it was said that for want of high schools there was no Irishman who possessed the highest degree in jurisprudence.

In intricate law dealings with the deputy or lord chancellor in Dublin the Irish chief was thus to be left to the uncovenanted mercies

[1] St. Pap. III. iii. 417. [2] Fac. Nat. MSS. III. xxxix. App. vi.

of an adviser "of English birth," "whose father and mother were English." A hundred and fifty years later archbishop Curwen opposed the making of a university in Dublin on the ground that there Irishmen might learn the secrets of the English.

The theological students were in no better case. If the Irish lawyer was forbidden the exercise of his craft, no scholar from the divinity hall was to obtain a benefice. The statute was
1416. renewed that no one of the Irish nation might be elected in Ireland bishop, abbot, or prior, or hold any benefice.[1] By this atrocious law if a benefice was given to an Irishman it was counted void and in the gift of the king. The Pale
1429. parliament later petitioned that the deputy on the spot should be allowed to appoint to all benefices,[2] so as to prevent that "when they be long void Irishmen occupieth them." The legal shutting out of Irish clergy served to keep the higher and richer posts for the English: where however benefices were poor, remote, or uncomfortable by reason of foreign speech and customs, no Englishman sued for them, and the deputy might on occasion relax his rule; so that in spite of law Irishmen still occupied places in their own Church.

Irish students persisted in Oxford, and perhaps

[1] Eng. St. 4 H. v. c. vi.

[2] Fac. Nat. MSS. iii. p. xxxix.

Henry, starting on his last march over the fields of France, planned the new statute which was 1422. passed after his death. Every Irish scholar, whatever his ability in learning, was henceforth to remain under perpetual reproach and disability.[1] 1422. The statute ordained that all people born in Ireland except those whose *father and mother were English* were to depart out of England, save graduates and some others. These graduates however had to carry letters testimonials from the lords justices in Dublin testifying that they be of the king's obeisance, (which practically meant dwellers in the Pale and of English blood,) or else were to suffer punishment as "rebels." Even with all testimonials in due form they might never henceforth rise to the headship of any hall or hostel, but were to remain among English scholars *under the Principality of others*. A further statute provided 1423. that students from Ireland should bring sureties.[2] Again a later act confirmed the law against the Irish students, and the crown and the lords 1429. spiritual and temporal refused to make it apply also to disorderly Scotch and Welsh students,[3] or to exclude from one university students who had been expelled from the other.[4]

[1] 1 Henry VI. c. iii. [2] H. VI. c. 8; *v.* app.

[3] Yet many Welsh students had fled from the universities in 1400-1, and borne arms against the king.

[4] The object was evidently not to promote discipline. 3 Rot. Parl. p. 457; 8 Henry VI.; 4 Rot. Parl. pp. 349, 358.

The efforts of Henry v. were crowned with success. Oxford ceased to be *gymnasium Hybernorum*; the halls for Irish scholars sank into decay, and Irishman Street fell to ruin when the university was deserted by Irishmen.[1] A few scholars survived through the next century and there were some one or two masters of halls in spite of the law.[2] Bovina hall continued during the fifteenth century to receive divinity students and some Irish bishops were bred there.[3] But the numbers must have been small if the report to Henry VIII. was true, that a few Irishmen possessed the highest degree in theology, but not more than eight persons at that time had a degree and livings were given away to the uneducated—a misfortune which cannot justly be attributed to the fault of the Irish.

Two and a half centuries had passed away after the death of Henry v., when a singular ceremony recalled the time that Oxford had been the hospitable home of learning for Irish-

[1] Macleane, Pembroke Coll. 45.

[2] William Walsh principal of Hare hall, 1461. Wood's Oxford, i. 595. Richard Mayow, born at Bray, of Exeter College, was principal of Hart hall 1468-76, and Canon of Exeter; d. 1499. Reg. Exeter Coll. 45. Thomas Irish of Exeter Coll. 1509, was principal of Hart hall 1514-22. Reg. Exeter Coll. 52.

[3] Wood's Oxford, i. 211, 587, 590. "William Dewre *Hibernicus* was principal of the Hall for a few months (1514), but with the reformation the dwindling life of Bovina hall and Irish clerks in Oxford came to an end." Macleane, Pembroke Coll. 45.

men. Cosmo de Medici, prince of Tuscany, 1668.
made a visit in great state to Oxford, and with his train of marquises and cavaliers complimented every school and leading man of the university and the library and all its rarities, and was highly complimented in turn. Among the gifts offered to him Dr. Thomas Barlow, archdeacon and provost of Queen's, "presented to him by the hands of the lord Gorestis [Albertus de Galevia Gorecki, who was usually called the lord Goreskie] several books, one or two in the Irish tongue, which was a missal or breviary or penitentiary,"[1] said the English reporter vaguely. In those days Irish scholars were famous in the great Continental schools, though except on occasion of a foreign visit they had fallen into oblivion in their old "gymnasium Hibernorum."

The "voiding" of the Irish from Oxford happened at a time of increasing Irish commerce and intercourse with foreign peoples, and the records of European universities will probably show that from that time a greater number of scholars went abroad. It is in fact in the century after their expulsion that the chief part of the Irish translations from Latin books were made, almost to the entire exclusion of English writings.

Riots and murders "to the great fear of all manner of people" were the excuse for the Acts

[1] Wood's Life and Times, ii. 156-62.

against Irish students. So far as the Oxford records go charges of exceptional wickedness of the Irish do not seem borne out. In a turbulent mediaeval Oxford every yard of ground was stained with blood. Sometimes the frequent inquest is on the body of an Irishman, sometimes of an Englishman—the slayer may be of either people. As for the disorders of unattached students in lodgings, there were more of these "poor scholars" English than Irish, and when the Irish "vagabonds" had been "voided" the authorities were as busy as before in trying to check the riots of the unattached scholars that remained. Two general wars, as we know, engaged the University. There was the feud between the northern and southern "nations"—the Scots and Englishmen north of the Tweed, against the English of south England, the Welsh, and the Irish[1]—the southern nations not
1334. always perhaps in the wrong, for Merton refused
1349-99. to admit northern scholars, and had many a riot in consequence with arms bought for defence.[2]
1350- The relentless war of 100 years for the subjugation
1450. of the Town to the University would have been fought out with all its savageries if there had never been an Irishman in it: a number of
1354. Irish clerks were slain in the fray of St. Scholastica, but it was no Irish quarrel, nor was it Irishmen

[1] Rashdall's Universities, ii. 368.

[2] Brodrick, Merton Coll. 17, 18.

who scalped the chaplains so far as the tonsure went to show their scorn of the clergy.[1]

The records in fact show no cause why, for the safety of Oxford, Irish students after 200 years of their coming should be of a sudden dismissed. The reason must probably be sought elsewhere. For the edicts against the Irish were not framed in Oxford but in Westminster, and the sweeping accusations of their violence come from preambles of Acts with their usual vague generalities and self-justifying phrases. It would seem indeed that the attack on Irish education was a move in the high imperial policy of English kings. The Irishman was welcomed in every Continental university, whose learning he adorned by his scholarship, and whose highest offices were within the reach of his ability. Oxford itself extended the same welcome. The order apparently came from the government that he should be marked out for suspicion as a rebel, forbidden to rise by any scholarship to a post of dignity, but ever to remain under the rule of some Englishman, and to carry with him the credentials that allowed him even that privilege.

These checks to Irish scholars happened at a time when "empire" and "conquest" were very present to the mind of Englishmen, and when opinion was much inflamed against Ireland. Irish scholars and travellers as we have seen were 1413.

[1] Rashdall's Univ. ii. 405, 412.

frequent in European lands. They seem to have talked in courts and universities of Ireland a nation, and of a civilisation and wealth that in no way depended on English lordship or instruction. So that when Richard II. desired to be made head of the Holy Roman Empire he was met on the Continent by the stinging reproach that he who sought to be Emperor could not even subdue
1394. Ireland. To save his reputation he ostentatiously marched "20,000 men in wages, to his exceeding charges,"[1] from Waterford through the territory of his dependent the earl of Ormond to Kilkenny and Drogheda; and to proclaim to the world his "conquest" the hamlets went up in flames before him as a way was cut through the woods, and with a space cleared for his fantastic chivalry set against the horror of the time, amid flaming houses and villages he knighted the child Henry of Lancaster,[2] afterwards Henry V.

These were the pictures of Ireland that occupied the minds of Englishmen while Irish graduates were pressing into Oxford. When
1413. Henry V. came in turn to the throne, claiming the crown of France and defying the French to a renewed war, he must have been singularly exasperated, with his fiery knighthood, at news of troubles in Ireland. The Irish under Art

[1] St. Pap. III. iii. 417; according to another account 30,000 archers and 4,000 men at arms; *v.* app.

[2] Gilb. Viceroys 281.

MacMurrough and O'Conor of Offaly, were coming into their own: so much so indeed that the Speaker of the House of Commons asserted that "the greater part of the lordship of Ireland had been conquered by the natives."[1] Commanders and soldiers had to be detached from the French service to Ireland, and Henry, like Richard, found himself diverted from a single-minded pursuit of a foreign crown and the glory of empire. Ireland stood in the way. 1413.

At the same time the intellectual and trading activity of the country had stirred a haunting fear—whether Ireland civil should become more dangerous to England than Ireland savage—the persistent fear expressed for centuries after by archbishops, philosophers, statesmen, governors, traders, and the mob. It had never been any part of English policy to allow Irishmen to advance by education in their own land. It was a fixed axiom that every post in Ireland should be held by an Englishman born in England. A time of stress recalled Henry v. to these time-honoured traditions. Precautions were at once taken to protect the ruling race, to check Irish competitors in the higher learning, and to ensure that the English alone should have the intellectual command and hold the entire administration. By this strangely perverted policy English law was to be enforced by governors over the Pale, and

[1] Haverty, 316; *v.* app.

ultimately over all Ireland, among a population forbidden to learn its rules or its safeguards: and the Irishman was offered every form of English life which could signalise his subjection and denationalisation, while he was refused any share in that which might lead to his freedom, dignity, or equality.

The charge is brought against Ireland that the Renascence passed it by unheeded. It is hard to see how, under these conditions, with all the artificial and foreign-made impediments to keep Irish scholars out of the country and unemployed, they could have been heralds and fighters for the New Learning in their own land. Not one of them could have fellowship or discussion with others in an Irish university, not one, if the law was observed, might have a place in Church or State. If an Irishman won such a place, it was by a dutiful conforming to the views of Westminster politicians, or of lord chancellor archbishops in Dublin, episcopal privy councillors and lord treasurers, and the like. The pliant and conforming temper of those who achieved a position by taking the government pledges would never have made a Renascence in Ireland—robbed of the impulse and passion of the ardent sons of freedom.

The wonder indeed is that so lively an intellectual life should have been maintained and so high a standard of learning. If the final harvest

was denied, we must not forget the zeal, or under-rate the enterprise with which Irishmen drew into their country the sciences of Europe and added them to their own national culture.

About the end of the fifteenth century Irish students once more began to go in some numbers to Oxford and Cambridge, and during the next hundred years frequented English universities. There was the same restriction as of old, that no scholar from Ireland could get a post in his own country, unless by a special dispensing on the deputy's part, and a special conforming on his own. Some Oxford scholars got bishoprics on these terms, and some sons of the official world got posts in the government. But the drift of opinion at Westminster was to appoint only Englishmen.

One class of students however did not depend on government appointments—the lawyers; these had a chance of living by Irish patronage.

The need of counsellors trained in the English feudal code increased with every fresh advance of English interference. When a chief was offered a knighthood, what emissary of the crown would explain to him the wholly new powers that the ceremony conferred on the king, who could henceforth by a simple legal procedure confiscate his estate, who could have his children in ward, and profit by the dower of his wife,[1]

[1] Davies, D. 1787, 225.

and without further trouble inherit his land when heirs failed? What counsel had he from Dublin officials if treaties imposed on him a land tenure outside all customs known to him, or a sheriff and shire-court to enforce English law and taxes, and English punishments contrary to Irish law? Men accustomed to the Brehon code of restitution and fine for theft held it brutal to cut off a man's ears and hang him for stealing fourteen pence; in view of public
1537. opinion the Pale parliament had decreed that theft below that sum might be atoned by a fine,[1] but the Irish were still recalcitrant: he would have no man to be hanged for stealing only,[2] MacMurrough said. Chiefs wholly dependent on the foreigners followed English law out of terror of their masters: thus to appease the English, and to make the Lord Chancellor's conclusions sink the surer into Irish hearts, Clanrickard "the Saxon" caused certain gentlemen to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was so much the greater terror to the rest that the like execution was never seen there before.[3] There was a vital meaning in the phrase of bardic
1568. panegyric: "one item of the pure Gaels' felicity that Cathal used not to hang any man,"[4]—he did not subject them to English law.

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 203; *v.* app. [2] C.S.P. 1548, 79.
[3] C.S.P. 1551, 110; 4 M. pp. 1511, 1519; *v.* O'Grady, Cat. 460 n. 2.
[4] O'Grady, Cat. 378.

Other questions arose. With what bitter irony might not a lord of Fermanagh ask what was the "eric" of a sheriff forced on his country, so that if he should be slain in the course of his violence the penalty, whatever the English estimate, should be at least known and determinate.[1] What was to be the fate of the Irish people when arbitrary laws were pushed through to decree, or to annul, a Poynings' Act for the subjection of parliament, or to establish royal claims to "the king's inheritance," or to issue acts of attainder, and confiscation to the English Crown? We may judge of the confusion which the new legislation could inflict from two acts of Henry VIII. His Irish Act of Attainder named 1535-37.
a certain number of Kildare's adherents, but a vast number more, in fact any whom the king pleased, were laid under attaint by two English Acts which included the whole of Kildare's comforters and abettors without naming them.[2] The Act of Absentees apparently added for the

[1] Davies, 126, ed. D. 1787. This request is usually made to serve in mockery as proof of the incorrigible savagery of an Irish chief. An Act of 1476 ordered "that if any Englishman be damaged by an Irishman, not amenable to law, he shall be reprised *out of the whole sept or nation of the party doing the injury, according to the discretion of the chief governor of the land, and the king's council.*" Tr. Rel. to Ireland, ii., St. of Kilk. 40 n. By Henry's law (1537) homicides in Irish lands were to be paid by a fine of £40, *half to go to the king*, half to the chief. Camb. Ev. i. 203. Maguire's request was perfectly correct according to the rulers' statutes; *v.* app.

[2] St. P. II. iii. 323.

moment no new land to the crown, but it extinguished the claims of Anglo-Irish families to any estates from which they had been driven by "the Irish enemy" and vested all such properties in the king, so as to secure to him the power of negotiating with the chiefs in possession without rival Anglo-Irish claims.

Such were the "privities" of government. Such were the intricacies to weary and delude "as wise people as the Irish,"[1] or for that matter the Anglo-Irish. There were no less tangled questions of taxation—what was the English law if that was to be enforced with or without the will of the Dublin parliament; what the Irish if that was not to be abused by alien adventurers; by what right did orders go out to levy "grants for the king's wars," and subsidies and port dues, and in what measure should governors and soldiers march up and down the country and exact maintenance on their raids. The constitutional questions that were leading straight to a revolution in England were multiplied a thousand times in Ireland. And as regarded the whole people rich and poor, what protection had an accused man when "one witness only (and in law one is not witness) is evidence against the Irish"?[2]

On the Irish side therefore there was a demand for legal education which drove students

[1] Cf. p. 398. [2] Camb. Ev. iii. 231.

to Oxford and London. But the study required by the Irish was finally allowed by the English from their own point of view. For Henry VIII. was busy plotting how to supersede Irish by English tenure—a scheme of politic drifts 1520.
and amiable persuasions, as he said, rather than rigorous dealing and comminacion: and it was part of his plan to send men of Ireland to England for training, and then use them to spread the English land tenure at home: "some of the gentlemen that be towards the law here," 1542.
were to form part of the privy council. The whole change, as he said, "must be politically, patiently, and secretly handled, and so to proceed therein that the Irish lords conceive no jealousy or suspicion that they shall be constrained precisely to live under our law."[1] "Now at the beginning politic practices may do more good than exploit of war, *till such time as the strength of the Irish enemies shall be enfeebled and diminished.*"[2] The policy of Henry v. was therefore reversed, and the growing desire of Irishmen to study law in England was encouraged by Henry VIII. When "divers gentlemen minding to study at the Inns of Court were by the Ancients of the said Inns restrained" according to the policy of the last hundred years, Henry gave orders, at the prayer of the privy council, that all gentlemen of this country might be admitted to the Inns of Court

[1] Richey, 107. [2] St. Pap. II. iii. 34.

1542. as other the king's subjects be.[1] At the same time he granted to the "professors of the law" the dissolved monastery of the Dominicans where the Four Courts now stand, the legal college known from that time as the King's Inns.[2]

Foreign education was therefore allowed by the politic king as the surest means of weakening the national fibre. The plan was not as successful as he had hoped. The oath of supremacy and the Protestant religion stood in the way of Catholic Irishmen.[3] Still many scholars used the opportunity opened them for study in England; some under high official patronage, like Cantwell, who was backed by the whole bench in Dublin against Ormond and public opinion in Kilkenny.[4]

1539-1569. James Stanihurst reported as the experience of the last twenty or thirty years "that our realm is at this day an half deal more civil than it was, since noble men and worshipful, with others of ability, have been used to send their sons into England to the law, to universities or to

1577. schools"[5]—"the number trebled," wrote Sidney, "of their sons, kinsfolk, and friends now by them kept in the universities, and at the study of the law of the realm, to that which their elders kept; and each one standeth them in

[1] St. Pap. III. iii. 417, 430.

[2] Soc. of Ant., Ap. 1892, p. 99.

[3] See de la Haide, Ware's Writers, 95.

[4] St. P. III. iii. 526. [5] Campion, cap. x.; *v.* app.

treble the charge that one stood the others in before."[1]

These lawyers, however, returned to a country where, in the Pale as out of it, law was mainly used at the will and for the purposes of an arbitrary tyranny. They came back from their studies acute and accomplished advocates of their people. "Ungodly lawyers, sworn enemies to the truth," "lawless lawyers,"[2] as an indignant government called them, they never ceased to fight every Tudor prince in turn, denying the Reformation as "contrary to learning," refusing the Supremacy of English kings, battling even to prison and death against the packing of parliaments and the highhanded "prerogative" of the prince. "Certain 1536.
persons here," said Cowley 'the plover-hunter' who would have exterminated the whole of them, "presume to have more higher and excellent wits than is in England."[3] The long struggle with the crown began when an old councillor of Kildare, the king's sergeant Barnwell, one of the "ring-leaders or bell-wethers, applying more to 1536.
their own sensualities, singular profits, and affections than to any good reason or towardness to prefer the King's advantage," opposed Henry's demands for taxation on trade and lands, and 1537.

[1] Car. ii. 480.

[2] Shirley, Orig. Letters, 135; MacCarthy, 108; Camb. Ev. ii. 613 n.

[3] St. Pap. II. iii. 370.

the suppression of monasteries; and inspired the
1537. resistance of the proctors in parliament to the king's claim to be Head of the Irish Church.[1] A group of trained lawyers led the Pale gentry—"Commonwealth men," as they began to be called—in a desperate battle with Elizabeth for the independence of parliament and its right to fix the taxes, and bitterly did the queen and her
1577. deputies learn to hate these accomplished fighters for freedom. When they urged a grand jury in Meath to indict in the King's Bench the Deputy and Lucas Dillon and most of the Council of treason for wrongful imposing of the cess, and caused a simple clerk to write under the indictment that the Chief Justice of England "Tresilian, in time of Richard II., was put to death for misconstruing the law,"[2] then "strait and painful imprisonment" was the lot of the whole of them.

Men of the Pale, the lawyers were not of necessity champions of the Irish. But a common resistance to tyranny and common calamities drew the people together, and the words commonwealth men and Ireland men used among the combatants of the Pale showed a growing union

[1] "All his lineage of the Barnewells have been great doers and adherents, privy councillors to the late earl of Kildare." Ib.; Hol. vi. 345, 55-6. James Barnewell counsel to Dublin, Bath recorder of Dublin, also adherent of Kildare. Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 393; Car. i. 36; St. Pap. III. iii. 584.

[2] Sid. Let. 179, 186.

of interests. A signal instance of Irish feeling was given when the wrecks of the Armada lay on the Irish coasts. "None of the Irish judges or learned did communicate at the general Thanks- 1588.
giving for the deliverance from the Spanish Invasion." "Even in Dublin itself the lawyers in term time took occasion to leave the town of purpose to absent themselves from that godly exercise."[1]

Through the succeeding calamities of war and plantation the lawyers fought the Crown in the country and in the towns. There were always about twenty Irish Catholics of good families and courtly education and carriage and learning, who were supported at the English Court and at Dublin Castle by Irish contributions, to negotiate in affairs of the Irish.[2] The leading gentry and chiefs kept skilled lawyers in their pay, like William Hurley, who after studying at Oxford came to Cork and helped MacCarthy in his law business.[3] All the chief cities made choice of professed lawyers to be their mayors and chief officers. These stalwarts obstinately refusing to take any new oath of allegiance, continued to swear after the old Catholic fashion,[4] and maintained an undying fight for their liberties; as for example one Geoffrey Galway mayor of

[1] C.S.P. 1588, 109; 1590, 366.
[2] Camb. Ev. ii. 612 n.
[3] MacCarthy, 105, 108; see Davies, D. 1787, 277.
[4] Camb. Ev. 610 n.; Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 481.

Limerick, who after many years spent in studying the common laws in England, returned to Ireland and did so pervert Limerick by his malicious counsel and perjurious example, that he withdrew the mayor, aldermen, and generally the whole city, from going to church, which before they sometimes frequented.

So far the plan of English education devised by Henry VIII. had failed. It added in fact a new danger, for men of learning proved only the more vehement in their assertion of the rights of Ireland, the more ardent in their enlightened patriotism. The claim of Ireland could no longer be represented as a clamour of barbarians or error of the ignorant: the letting in of education from Oxford and the Inns of Court had but added fresh force to its demands. From this time the government realised anew the danger of allowing the men of Ireland free access to learning, or permitting them to have any share in guiding the affairs of their country. The rulers again resolved to keep afar off the perils of education and intelligence.

IRISH AT OXFORD.

I have added here some names which I have met with of men from Ireland studying at Oxford.

David de Hibernia, scholar in a hall in the little Jury. Inquest on his death. *Wood's Oxford*, i. 528. 1285.

Walter Joyce, teacher at the Dominican Convent of S. Nicholas: afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. *Macleane, Pemb. Coll.* 60. 1306.

Thomas Joyce, his brother, teacher at the Dominican Convent of S. Nicholas: afterwards a Cardinal. *Macleane, Pembr. Coll.* 60, *Ware's Bishops*, 71.

Thomas de Ketings of Ireland, clerk, who had his hand in the death of another, had his abode in la Chymney hall in St. John's St. *Wood's Oxford*, i. 181. 1303.

Walter le White, clerk, an Irishman, at de la Schield hall in Kibalde St., had a hand in the killing of one Adam de Sarum. *Wood's Oxford*, i. 190. 1303.

Wilcocks, a servitor to Daniel de Bren, (O'Brien?) at de la Schield hall, also had a hand in the killing of Adam de Sarum. *Wood's Oxford*, i. 190.

Malachias, the minorite or grey friar, a student in the university of Oxford, where he attained to that knowledge in divinity as he was the only man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobility, a sharp reprover of vice, a zealous embracer of virtue, enemy to flattery, friend to simplicity." *Hol.* vi. 61-2. 1310.

Gilbertus Urgalius, a student in Oxford. *Hol.* vi. 66. This was possibly the place-name that occurs in Dublin records as Uriell. 1330.

Richard FitzRalph, born at Dundalk, was scholar in the university of Oxford under Baconthorpe, a good philosopher and no ignorant divine. *Holl.* vi. 60. He was Chancellor of Oxford university. *Ware's Bishops*, 81-2. As Primate of Armagh he purchased the hatred of all religious persons for reproving the begging friars.

1333.

Henry Crumpe, writer of foreign books, who was born in Ireland "and brought up in the university of Oxford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in divinity to no small credit. Having repaired to his native country, minding there to defray the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenly apprehended by Simon bishop of Meath, and kept in duresse, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion." *Hol.* vi. 58. See *Hist. and Ant. Univ. Oxf.* i. 496; *Dic. Nat. Bio.*

1392.

Bef. 1427. Philip Norris was Doctor of Divinity in Oxford; famous for his war against the friars.

Thomas Walshe, bachelor of laws, was his opponent and probably therefore an Oxford man. *Ware's Writers*, 89.

David Carrewe, probably the same as Friar David Carron, who with Friar Nicholas Walshe, was appointed commissioner to elect a Provincial of the Minorites in Ireland on the deposition of William O'Really; their choice fell on Gilbert Walshe, but William O'Really was afterwards reinstated. *Little's Grey Friars in Oxford*, 261.

1448.

1455. Richard Develyn (*i.e.* of Dublin), white monk. *Oxford Register*, i. 25.

1462. Lionel Howth alias de Sancto Laurencio, "an Irishman." *Oxford Register*, i. 35.

Isaac Cusack obtained letters from the University testifying to his learning and good conduct, and certifying that as D.D. he had "laudably fulfilled his regency and all that pertains to the solemnity of such a degree." With this testimonial he went to Ireland. 1473.

Dionisius Tully, a Dominican Friar, accompanied him, and the two friars "preached publicly that Christ preached from door to door, that Pope John was a heretic, and such like, telling the people withal, that they in their proceedings had been encouraged by the University of Oxford." The University got the archbishop of Dublin to arrest them and send them back to Oxford, where they were convicted of heresy, and according to Wood they were "after recantation degraded and rejected the University as vagabonds." *Little's Grey Friars in Oxford*, 266-7.

James Maddock "at Oxford studying at the University, and by the grace of God proposes to be a Doctor of Divinity." He was to be given six marks yearly till he was promoted to a competent benefice "as there are but few in this land who are able to teach or preach the word of God." *Tr. Rel. to Irel.* ii. App. 129. 1475.

Donal O'Fihely of Cork, student at Oxford. He wrote the Annals of Ireland after he returned to Ireland, and was much valued by his countrymen for his unwearied industry in matters relating to history and antiquity. *Ware's Writers*, 90. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 5. c. 1480.

William Ireland, Fellow of Merton. *Brodrick's Merton College*, 243. 1487.

1490. Nicholas Maguire of Idrone took one or more degrees at Oxford. Later bishop of Leighlin. d. 1512. *Wood's Oxf. Writers*, 8.

Menelaus McCormic studied at Oxford, known there as Carmgan Hibernicus. Later bishop of Raphoe. *Little's Grey Friars in Oxford*, 267. *Ware's Bishops*, 274. d. 1513.

Maurice de Portu, or O'Fihely of Cork. *Little's Grey Friars in Oxford*, 267. Later archbishop of Tuam. d. 1513.

Thomas Fitch a student at Oxford. d. 1517. *Ware's Writers*, 92.

Terence O'Brien, bishop of Killaloe. Educated at Oxford. d. 1525. *Ware's Bishops*, 594.

Thomas Dillon, born in Meath, educated in Oxford, Bishop of Kildare. d. 1531. *Ware's Bishops*, 389.

1502. Thomas Walshe (Wallashe) Prior of the Monastery of the Virgin Mary at Bradenstoke. An opponent in Divinity at Oxford. Later prebendary of Hustwayt in the Church of York. *Wood's Fasti*, 6.

1505. Dionis Calakan (an Irishman) B.C.L. *Wood's Fasti*, 7.

1506. Geoffrey Tege. *Oxford Register*, 46.

1506. Walter Stanihurst, scholar of Oxford. There were probably others of the same family. *Hol.* vi. 64-5.

1507. Thomas Irysh. *Oxford Register*, 55.

1510. Walter Mey, May, or Mayo. *Oxford Register*, 71.

1511. Thomas Roche. *Oxford Register*, 76.

1512. William Nangull "a poor Irishman with few friends." *Oxford Register*, 84.

1512. Philip Marchin "a poor Irishman lately taken by the French . . . having studied five years in this

university, and two and a half in France, and seven at home in civil and canon law." *Oxford Register*, 85.

George Cogley spent some time in the study of civil law at Oxford. *Ware's Writers*, 92. 1518.

Richard Lorcan an Irish Franciscan. *Little's Grey Friars in Oxford*, 101. 1514.

Dermitius Rian, an Irishman, studied the Law in the universities of Oxford, Paris, and Cambridge twelve years. B Can. Law. *Wood's Fasti*, 22. 1514.

Dermitius de Meara, an Irishman, studied Canon Law in Oxford, Paris, and in Cambridge sixteen years. *Wood's Fasti*, 22. 1514.

Thomas Irish of Exon. Proctor. *Wood's Fasti*, 25. 1517.

Nicholas Carnay, Charney, or Kernay. *Oxford Register*, 105. 1518.

John Kenney or Kenne. *Oxford Register*, i. 106. 1518.

Thomas Walsche or Welshe. *Oxford Register*, i. 119. 1521.

John Irysche. *Oxford Register*, 127. 1522.

Nicholas de Burgo, B.D. of Paris. Disp. 26 Jan. because he is a stranger and knows no English and has lectured almost seven years gratis. *Oxford Reg.* 128. 1524.

John Sheyne, M.A. *Ware's Writers*, 97. *Wood's Fasti*, 35. *Hol.* vi. 64. 1523.

Thomas Leverysche. Probably the Thomas Leverous afterwards Bishop of Kildare. *Oxford Reg.* i. 130. 1523.

Richard Yrelond. *Oxford Reg.* i. 141. 1525.

Thomas Clere or Cleere. Born in Kilkenny. *Oxford Reg.* i. 142. *Hol.* vi. 58. 1525.

David Kelly. *Oxford Reg.* i. 146. 1526.

1527. Peter Delahyde. *Oxford Reg.* i. 149.

1527. Thaddaeus Raynold, B. Can. Law, a secular chaplain "who, if I mistake not, was an Irishman." *Wood's Fasti*, 43.

1530. Adam Walche or Walshe. *Oxford Reg.* i. 162.

1531. Patrick Walshe, B.A., afterwards bishop of Waterford and Lismore. *Wood's Fasti*, 49.

1532. Thomas Irlonde. *Oxford Reg.* i. 172.

1533. Edward Delahyd. *Oxford Reg.* i. 176.

1533. Donatus Riane, B. Can. Law. Public Reader of the Canon law in New Inn. *Wood's Fasti*, 54. *Hol.* vi. 64.

1534. Richard Lorgan, sometime Fellow of Oriel, then Princ. of S. Mary's Hall, Divinity Reader of Magd. Coll., D.D. *Wood's Fasti*, 56.

1535. Edward Quemmerford, an Irishman, B.A. Reported by a writer of his country to be a learned man. *Wood's Fasti*, 56.

1536. Donatus Tayge, an Irishman, B.L. *Wood's Fasti*, 58.

1537. Thomas Walsh, Baron of the King's Exchequer, one of the arbitrators, in a dispute between the mayor of Oxford and Oriel College concerning S. Bartholomew's Hospital. *Records of Oxford*, 146.

1540. Sent as commissioner to Ireland. *St. Pap.* III. iii. 419. *C.S.P.* 54, etc.

c. 1542. Richard Smith, born in a town named Rackmackneie three miles distant from Wexford, surnamed Smith of his father who was by occupation a smith; being fourteen years of age he stole into England, and repaired to Oxford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of divinity, was elected doctor of

the chair, taken in those days for a peerless pearl of all the divines in Oxford as well in scholastical as in positive divinity. *Hol.* vi. 64. Ware believed him to be English. *Writers*, 96. It is not improbable that he tried to conceal his Irish birth.

Maurice Ley or Lye, an Irishman. *Exeter Coll. M.A.* 1545.
Exeter College Register, 65.

William Cantwell of Kilkenny went to Oxford to learn.
St. P. III. iii. 526.

William Lyggyns (? Hyggyns), student at White Hall. 1547-8.
Oxford Reg. ii. 283.

Henry Welshe. Allowed to vote in congregation and 1548.
to be a necessary regent. *Oxford Register*, ii. 90.

James Neyland or Neilan, an Irishman, Fellow of All 1548.
Souls' Coll., a learned physician. *Wood's Fasti*, 72.
Hol. vi. 62.

David de la Hyde, Probationer Fellow of Merton, M.A. 1549.
"An exquisite and a profound clerk, sometime fellow 1553.
of Merton College in Oxford, very well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues, expert in the mathematicals, a proper antiquary and an exact divine. Whereby I gather that his pen hath not been lazy but is daily breeding of such learned books as shall be available to his posterity." *Hol.* vi. 58. He was very witty and ingenious and so formidable a disputant that "at his appearance in the schools place was presently given." *Brodrick's Merton* 1560.
Coll. 45, 261. Ejected for denying the queen's supremacy, he returned to Ireland. He wrote many things printed beyond the seas. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. *Oxford Reg.* i. 221.

Richard Lynche at Broadgates hall. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 1550.
284.

Matthew Sheyne, an Irishman, laid a foundation of literature in Oxford which afterwards he well
1572. improved. Returned to his own country and became bishop of Cork and Cloyne. *Wood's Oxford Bishops*, 708. *Wood's Fasti*, 35.

Patrick Walshe of Brasenose, bishop of Waterford and Lismore. d. 1578. *Oxford Reg.* i. 168.

Fagan, a bachelor of art in Oxford, and a schoolmaster in Waterford. *Hol.* vi. 59.

1562. Robert Garvey, fellow of Oriel, a "learned Irishman" bachelor of civil law, a man well spoken of in the English as well as the Latin. *Hol.* vi. 61. Noted for his skill in both the laws, and for a volubility
d. c. in the English and Latin tongues. *Wood's*
1579. *Athenae Oxon.* i. 459; ii. 198-9.

temp. John Garvey, born in Kilkenny, educated at Oxford,
Ed. VI. after bishop of Kilmore and archbishop of Armagh.
d. 1594. *Ware's Bishops*, 96.

1552. F. Roach, chorister of Corpus Christi. *Fowler's Corpus Christi Coll.* 429.

1553. Robert Dermothe, Brasenose, "an Irishman." *Oxford Reg.* i. 221.

1555. Donnal Rian: "there lived two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Oxford, the one a good civilian, the other very well seen in the mathematicals." Cf. a. 1533. *Oxford Reg.* i. 230. *Hol.* vi. 64.

1555. Thomas FitzSimon, "perhaps preb. of Dublin" (1552). *Oxford Reg.* i. 230.

1556. Richard Shaghens [Shaughnessy?] born in Ireland, Fellow of Balliol, B.A., a noted disputant and an excellent philosopher. M.A. 1560. In 1564 he retired to Ireland where he gained a good report for his noted parts in speaking and penning. He was school-

master in Ireland and a learned and virtuous man. *Wood's Writers*, 166. *Hol.* vi. 64.

William Pomrelle, New College. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 234. Disp. from determining because he was a priest and had to hear confessions. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 60. "Poomrell a bachelor of divinity sometime chaplain in New College in Oxford, after returning to his country he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence flitted to Louvain, where through continual hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his private study, he purchased a laudable knowledge in divinity. Whereby he gave manifest show of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his divinity by hearsay." *Hol.* vi. 64. 1557.

Leonard FitzSimons, born in Co. Dublin. Scholar of Trinity from Corpus Christi of which he was clerk, aged 17. B.A. 1559. In 1571 he retired to Hart Hall, leaving his Fellowship on religious grounds; returned to Ireland and was noted for learning. *Wood's Oxf. Writers*, 199-200; *Fasti*, 92. 1558.

"Plunket, baron of Dunsany, scholar in Ratough to M. Staghens, after sent by Sir Christopher Barnewell knight, his friendly father-in-law, to the university of Oxford," where he profited in knowledge. *Hol.* vi. 63-4. c. 1560

Rothe, bachelor of law, proceeded in the university of Oxford. There hath been another Rothe, vicar of S. John's in Kilkenny prettily learned. *Hol.* vi. 64.

Rolandus Kelly, Chaplain of Corpus Christi. *Fowler's Corpus Christi Coll.* 423. 1561.

1562. Nicholas Quemerford, born at Waterford, took his degree in Arts after he had spent four years in Oxford pecking and hewing at Logic and Philosophy, and afterwards returned to Ireland and took orders. Turned out of his preferments because he would not conform to the established religion, he went to Louvain and was there made D.D. 1576. *Ware's Writers*, 96. *Hol.* vi. 64. *Wood's Oxf. Writ.* 200.

1563. Peter White, lecturer in Metaphysics. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 97.

1565. Robert Ireland, Chaplain of Corpus Christi. *Fowler's Corpus Christi Coll.* 423.

1565. David Clere, B.A. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199.

1567. Nicholas Clere of Co. Kilkenny matriculated aged 19. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199.

1568. Richard Stanihurst, University. *Oxford Reg.* i. 266.

1569. Owin (Eugenius) Connor. [Eugene O'Conogher was dean (1605) of Aghadoe. Owen O'Connor was bishop of Killala (1585) "educated at Oxford."] Cf. *Ware's Bishops*, 652. Owen O'Connor, bishop of Killala 1591. *Oxf. Reg.* i. 274. *v.* C.S.P. 1569, 408.

1570. Dormer, a civilian, born at Ross, scholar of Oxford; he wrote in ballad royal "The Decay of Rosse." *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 166. *Hol.* vi. 59. *Ware's Writers*, 95.

1570. One Taylor, B.A., who proceeded in the University and wrote Epigrammata diversa. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 166.

1570. Elias Sheth, an Irishman, wrote Divers Sonnets. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 166. "Born in Kilkenny, sometime scholar of Oxford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall." *Hol.* vi. 64.

There was also a Michael Sheth born in Kilkenny, master of art. *Hol.* vi. 64.

Patrick Cusack, after he left Oxford was a schoolmaster in Dublin. Wrote in Latin Diversa Epigrammata. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 166. 1570.

Peter Nangle of Dublin, matriculated aged 15. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1571.

Thomas Finglas. Hart Hall. Aged 18. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1571.

William Nugent of Meath. Hart Hall. Aged 21. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. "A proper gentleman and of a singular good wit." He wrote English sonnets. *Hol.* vi. 62. 1571.

David Sutton of Kildare, matriculated aged 16. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1571.

James Walsh, M.A., an Irishman, had a chamber and took his commons in Hart Hall, being a student in divinity. *Wood's Oxf. Writers*, 199; he translated Giraldus Cambrensis into English. *Ware's Writers*, 97. 1572.

Leonard FitzSimons, his countryman, student in divinity *Wood's Oxf. Writers*, 199. 1572.

Richard Walsh of Waterford matriculated aged 15. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1572.

Robert Boteler of Waterford matriculated aged 23. Hart Hall. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1572.

George Sherlock of Waterford, Hart Hall, aged 17. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1572.

Richard Masterson of Wexford. Hart Hall, aged 15. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1573.

Nicholas Gaydon of Dublin, Hart Hall, aged 19. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1574.

John Linch, born in Galway, educated at New-Inn-Hall, Oxford: made bishop of Elphin, 1584. *Ware's Bishops*, 634.

William Laly or Mullaly of Co. Galway, educated at Oxford, Archbishop of Tuam. d. 1595. *Ware's Bishops*, 615.

Stephen Kerovan, born in Galway, educated partly at Oxford and partly at Paris. Bishop of Clonfert. d. 1602. *Ware's Bishops*, 642.

William Bathe, born in Dublin, applied himself diligently to study in Oxford, till he grew weary of the heresies professed in England. *Ware's Writers*, 101.

William White, born in Wexford, studied in Oxford, then went to London for law, to France and to Rome; and studied philosophy in Meyra in Galicia, and divinity in Salamanca. He died at Wexford, 1616. *Ware's Writers*, 102.

Dermod O'Meara, physician and poet; born in Ormond, "a member of the university of Oxford," where he took his degree in physic. He returned to Ireland and was esteemed one of the most eminent in that faculty. He died after 1620. *Ware's Writers*, 108. *Wood's Writers of Oxford*, 449.

John Clare, born in Ireland; educated in Oxford "as a lodger in the town at large": he went to Rome and became a Jesuit. *Ware's Writers*, 109.

1576. Stephen Lynche. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 68.

1583. Henry FitzSimon, son of a Dublin merchant, educated a Protestant: he matriculated at 14 as member of Hart Hall. He became a Jesuit, was eminent for learning, and taught philosophy publicly on the Continent. He returned to Ireland, one of the most acute and able disputants of his time. *Ware's Writers*, 118.

Alexander Barrington, a gentleman's son of Ireland. Hart Hall, aged 18. *Wood's Oxford Writers*, 199. 1583.

William Oburne, Chaplain of S. John's. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 92. 1586.

Anthony Garvey, comitatu Rosmen (?) in Mieth, Episcopi Tarpheiing filius, 18 (son of John Garvey, Bishop of Kilmore). *Oxford Reg.* ii. 397. 1593-4

Bartholomew Dillon, Dublin, gen. f., 25. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 397. 1593-4

Robert Tighe, Magdalen ; an excellent linguist. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 134. *Wood's Fasti*, 152. 1596.

John Moyowe, Corpus Christi. *Fowler's C.C.C.* 1597.

John Ireland. *Oxford Reg.* ii. 45. 1599

A few names may be added from among the learned Irish not mentioned in Oxford lists.

"Eustace a doctor of divinity, a very good schoolman, he flourished in the year one thousand five hundred thirty and six. 1536

Olifer or Oliver Eustace a student of the civil and canon law, a good humanician, and a proper philosopher.

Nicholas Eustace a student of divinity, one that notwithstanding he was born to a fair living, yet did wholly sequester himself from the world." *Hol.* vi. 59.

John Fitzgerald commonly named John Fitzedmund, a very well lettered civilian, a wise gentleman, and a good householder. *Hol.* vi. 60.

There is a Fleming now living of whom I hear great report to be an absolute divine and a professor thereof. *Hol.* vi. 60. 1570.

c. 1575. There is another Rocheford that is a student of philosophy. *Hol.* vi. 64.

1550. "Cagher a nobleman born, in his time called MacMurrough, he descended of that MacMurrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing divine, and for his learning and virtue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbot of Grage." 1567; d. 1587; *Hol.* vi. 6; *Ware's Bishops*, 462.

1563-70. Thomas O'Hurley or O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, an exquisite divine, brought up in Italy. *Hol.* vi. 63.

Derby Hurley a civilian and a commendable philosopher, he wrote "In Aristotelis physica." *Hol.* vi. 61.

d. 1542. Thomas Hurley famous canonist and bishop of Emly. *Ware's Bishops*, 499.

Robert Ioise born in Kilkenny, a good humanician. *Hol.* vi. 61.

There were many Walshes distinguished for learning. "There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname who writeth a very proper Latin verse." *Hol.* vi. 66.

"One William an Moiryrtagh or Morgan, Brien Tayg Richiblican or Kiblican, also Domigha fr Rikard, Croeun Diermvid Mady, Richard Ardur (or so) Moris Derby, of the which some were handsomely learned." *Shirley's Orig. Letters*, 178.[1]

[1] *v.* app.

IX.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The Irish shared with all other peoples in the cosmopolitan learning of Europe, the common stock of knowledge which was generally accepted. But also, like other peoples, they had a literature peculiar to the genius of their race, which they cherished with the ardour both of the intellect and the heart.

Irish annals have been quoted in proof of lawlessness and barbarism. If however we turn to them we may read year after year, not of wars alone and cattle-raids, but of learned poets and historians and doctors of the law canon and civil and men "full of knowledge and of every science," of libraries and of collectors who handed down their books for generations as their most cherished treasures. Every province, every tribe, had its Annals compiled by scholars in some secure shelter, an island in the Shannon, a crannog in a lake, the quiet of a termon land. Wealthy men and women kept open houses for scholars, and patrons of learning abounded in every Province—Melaghlin Magerahty of Ulster, "the

1348. servant of generosity," whose death left the professors of poetry and the sciences grieved and
1352. broken-hearted : Conor MacDonough, general
1376. patron of men of all arts ; Hugh O'Farrell, "like unto a fountain his generosity and bounty flowed on the literati of Ireland universally" from his youth until his death ; Barrett in Con-
d. 1384. nacht "a man of exceeding good housekeeping and one that deserved to be well commended by the rhymers, poets, and such others in Ireland
1393. for his liberality towards them" ; Magauran "of lavish hospitality towards the literati" ; and many
1511. others. O'Kelly was the general patron of the
1513. learned.[1] To MacWilliam Burke the friars and chief poets were as his own family.[2]

We can scarcely turn a page of the Annals in fact without reading of some refuge for study. The Church took its part in the protection of knowledge. Monasteries were centres of culture as of industry. "The monastery of Ennis, diversely beautiful, delectable ; washed by a fish-giving stream ; having lofty arches, walls lime-white ; with its order of chastity, its sweet, religious bells ; its well-kept graves, homes of the noble dead ; with furniture, both crucifixes and illuminated tomes, both friar's cowl and embroidered vestment ; with windows glazed ; with chalice of rare workmanship—a blessed and enduring monument which, for all time, shall

[1] 4 M. p. 1311. [2] 4 M. p. 1323.

stand a legacy and memory of the Prince (Turlough O'Brien) that raised it."[1] The friary of the Hermits of S. Augustine at Callan, which held the bones of its founder James Butler father of Piers earl of Ormond,[2] was famous among the learned for its library of valuable manuscripts. Churches too had collections of books,[3] and officials distinguished for generosity to travellers, such as MacRory erenach[4] in Fermanagh, "a humble meek man for the love of God, and a man who kept a house of hospitality." 1306.

There was no lack of holy men in the Irish Church, pious, humane, and learned—men who wakened even in English visitors wonder at the lofty fervour of their faith, "such mirrors of holiness and austerity that other nations retain but a show or shadow of devotion in comparison of them." O'Fallon,[5] bishop of Derry, was "of great reputation for learning, and a constant course of preaching through all Ireland which he continued for full thirty years," "the preacher that did most service to Irishmen since Patrick was in Ireland." Andrew MacBrady bishop of the two Breffnys for thirty years,[6] "the only dignitary whom the English and Irish obeyed, a paragon of wisdom and piety," preached 1485-1500. 1471-1511.

[1] Soc. of Ant., Sep. 1895, 231. [2] Archdall's Monasticon, 348.

[3] An. Uls. 197. The mention of them is frequent.

[4] Davies, D. 1787, p. 251; 4 M. p. 1301.

[5] Ware's Bishops, p. 291. [6] 4 M. 1309.

and taught, ordained priests, consecrated churches and cemeteries, established a cathedral at Kilmore with thirteen secular canons, and bestowed rich presents on the poor and the mighty, till he died at Drumahair on his way to consecrate a church, and was laid to rest at Cavan. Some were themselves scholars who led the culture of their time. The see of Leighlin had a succession
1458-89. of learned Irish men. Milo Roch "was more addicted to the study of music and poetry than
1490- was fit." His successor, Nicholas Maguire, born
1512. in Carlow, educated in Oxford, was held in high veneration among the Irish for his learning and his assiduity in preaching: a great student of history, he wrote a life of Roch and compiled a Chronicle which was the foundation of the later
1523-5. Annals of Dowling. After him Maurice Doran, born in Leix, was renowned for his probity of manners and eloquence in preaching; a learned theologian and pious Christian, he refused to lay double subsidies on the clergy of his war-swept bishopric to pay the charges of his election, saying he would have his flock shorn not flayed.[1]
d. 1498. The Annals of Ulster were compiled by Mac-Manus Maguire, canon chorister of Armagh, parson of Inishkeen, deacon of Lough Erne and coadjutor of the bishop of Clogher for fifteen years—a man "full of grace and of wisdom in every science to the time of his death, in law,

[1] Ware's Bishops, 459-61.

physic, and philosophy, and in all the Gaelic sciences: and one who made, gathered, and collected this book from many other books." He left the work to be carried on by Patrick Culin, bishop of Clogher, who had considerable knowledge of antiquities and poetry, and O'Cassidy his archdeacon, "the Grecian," lawyer d. 1551
and philosopher, "with an extraordinary knowledge of the antiquities of his country":[1] with his help the bishop compiled too a registry of the see, from whence the greatest part of the account of his predecessors has since been taken, "the memory of whom would have perished had it not been for his care." The attorney-general of James I. sought out "one of the best learned 1607.
vicars in all the country, and one that had been a brehon, and had some skill in the civil and common laws, and with much ado"[2] got from that unhappy patriot information on Irish customs.

There was provision also for lay students on the church estates or "termon lands": "the tenants of the church lands are called Termoners, and are for the most part scholars and speak Latin; and anciently the chief tenants were the determiners of all civil questions and controversies among their neighbours."[3] Thus Con O'Donnell 1496

[1] 4 M. p. 1241 n.; O'Reilly's Cat. cxxxv.; Ware's Writers, p. 93.

[2] Davies, Let. to Salis. 246-7, D. 1787.

[3] 4 M. p. 1228 n., 1229; Davies, Let. to Salis. 1607, p. 246, D. 1787.

was forced to set at liberty John Maguire, "all the termoners of the province having flocked to him to *request and demand* his liberation."
1505-37. Hugh O'Donnell was extolled as "a man who duly protected their termon lands for the friars, churches, poets, and ollavs."[1] From such examples of sanctuary all lands that gave shelter or protection presently took the name of termon lands, as for instance the liberties of the city of Limerick.[2]

The special distinction indeed of Ireland was the provision made outside religion for knowledge. Every tribe maintained and rewarded its own poets, judges, historians, preceptors in law, music, or literature. In their hierarchy a king, a bishop, and an ollave, were the three most noble. They had the same "honour price" and the same rights of giving sanctuary. "According to the ordinance of science"[3] no king could set anyone above an ollave, or chief professor of his branch of learning. To him was due the warmth of loving-kindness, the primest of all largesse, the initiative in council. He claimed the "king's shoulder" (the seat next to him) at the feast, to have the same portion of meat,[4] and to wear the same variety of colours in his clothes.[5] His

[1] 4 M. p. 1439.
[2] O'Grady, Cat. 455.
[3] O'Grady, Cat. 475.
[4] Soc. of Ant., Jan. 1867, 10.
[5] Cf. O'Grady, Cat. p. 107, for the poet who claimed the many coloured robe of office.

person was sacred from harm:[1] "they honour 1570.
and reverence friars and pilgrims, by suffering them to pass quietly, and by sparing their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country beside them. The like favour do they extend to their poets and rhymers."[2]

It was every chief's business to be a "protector of the literati," and to employ the scholars of his country in works of law, history, and poetry.[3] Lords of Hy-many by the Shannon had their "Book of the O'Kellys" with its synchronism of Roman Emperors and Irish Kings, its history, poems, and law: and the story might be repeated in every territory. The rewards of art and letters were great. Twenty cows was thought a fair price for a poem, and costly gifts were offered, jewelled goblets, horses and hawks, fine leather belts and spur-straps, and the like; but, cried the judicious bard, "without borders in which to maintain cattle, without a share of imperishable patrimonial soil, the very pick of thy treasure and of thy various gear is but all vanity to me! To every man of us (that are ollaves) the highest species of estate is a piece of land close to the chief and blessed with equal facilities for grazing or for tilth, as for resort also to the bordering

[1] A fine of 126 cows was given for the accidental death by a spear of the chronicler O'Mulconry, "perfect in his hereditary art." a. 1400, 4 M.

[2] Hol. vi. 68.

[3] For the Book of the O'Byrnes see Hyde, Lit. Hist. 472-6.

pasture mountain."[1] Estates portioned out to the learned were free of rent,[2] with no impost to be raised on them—"the most erudite 'Servant of the noble saints' hath without stint acquired freehold land,"[3] was the history of a successful literary man.

1333. We have a picture in Thomond, when the O'Briens had driven out the English, of the King holding court in the old style, in his scarlet tunic and gold-edged coat, a saffron coloured belt, buckles with crystals and gold tassels, a white embroidered hood, armour gilt in delicate patterns, and a conical helmet inlaid with gold branches; and sitting side by side with him his Chief Brehon and Chief Ollave. It greatly
1394. shocked the decorum of English lackeys when the famous Art MacMorough and three other Irish kings, coming at the Earl of Ormond's request to meet Richard II. in Dublin, did when they were set to table make their minstrels and principal servants to sit beside them and share their portion. "They told me," wrote their English valet and allotted tutor in manners, "this was a praiseworthy custom of their country"; and when with pretentious vulgarity he began his reformation by ordering the tables to be "laid out and covered properly," placing the four kings

[1] Ib. 476.

[2] 4 M. p. 1175, for a remission of rent; cf. O'Grady, Cat. 337

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 331.

at one, their hereditary ollaves of no lesser birth than themselves at a lower one, and the hereditary officers of the household still lower, "the kings looked on each other and refused to eat, saying I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up. I replied *with a smile to appease them* that their custom was not decent or suitable to their rank . . . for that now they should conform to the manners of the English"[1]— to which they then for the moment yielded themselves with the dignity of courteous guests.

Independent landowners who owed to the chief no rent but only suit of court, these professors of learning were model farmers,[2] renowned for good tillage and well-furnished courts and comfortable seats, men of wealth and great power; open air students who observed and loved Nature, enjoyed sport, and held the views of the modern country gentleman as to its place in the training of the young.[3] If they received gifts they too kept "thronged houses of general hospitality," where successive generations of learned hosts entertained all who came to them, "the needy and the mighty."[4] The liberal hospitality of MacNamee, a man of great wealth, was worthy d. 1507 of his fame as the most eminent poet of

[1] Froissart, l. iv, lxiii. p. 187.

[2] 4 M. p. 1663, 1711. The instances are numerous.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 488-9, 493-5.

[4] An. Loch Cé. 207; 4 M. 1219, 1705, 1823, 1025, etc.

Erin. There was the notable house of Maurice
d. 1543. O'Mulconry, "a man of wealth and affluence, a learned scribe by whom many books had been transcribed and by whom many poems and lays had been composed, and who had kept many schools superintending and learning, several of which he had constantly kept in his own house" :[1] part of his beautiful copy of the Book of Fenagh lies at Oxford. The MacDermots made their seat "the Oxford of the province of Connacht."[2] Amid the bare rocks of "old Burren" men show the site of an old stone house where the O'Dalys of Corcomroe kept their school, and where
1515. Teige professor of poetry had a house of general hospitality till he slept in the abbey of Corcomroe. Near it is the monument of Donough More O'Daly, a poet and gentleman still celebrated among the Irish peasants there.[3]

The "imperishable patrimonial soil" of the ollave could not in fact be enjoyed for nothing, nor could the family idly live on the reputation of an ancestor. The estate was bound to produce a man of science dedicated to the public service. The children were brought up in the pride and enthusiasm of a hereditary learning, "instilled" as one of them has said, "from their tenderest

[1] 4 M. p. 1287, p. 1483. One O'Mulconry was famed as "head of the inhospitality of Ireland. It was he who solemnly swore that he would never give butter and bread together to guests." 4 M. p. 1141.

[2] See p. 348.

[3] 4 M. p. 847, 1331.

years and from the lips of a parent."[1] A profound and critical knowledge was required of the heirs of a great tradition, according to Dr. Lynch, and "how great soever the literary eminence of any man in Ireland, he was never called learned, but a 'son of learning.'"[2] With the passing of each generation the estate along with the post of science was handed on to a selected "Tanist," as we may say, and an aristocracy of learning was preserved, as great in their state and their pride of blood as the chiefs themselves—the leaders of a fraternity of lay scholars that spread over all the country, and themselves shared the honour of their masters and patrons.

Learning in Ireland thus sank its roots deep into the whole system of tribal life. It was maintained by great families endowed for that purpose. Some were of ancient origin; others were founded or rose into fame after the first shock of the English invasion had passed, when the old and new races were settling down together into one people.[3] By the selection of the best skilled in the group as heir, instead of the perpetual inheritance from father to eldest son of English law, the family preserved its intellectual succession without decay, not for a generation or two but for centuries.

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 191. [2] Ib. i. 191.

[3] For the Irish poets see the valuable articles of Dr. Norman Moore in the Dict. Nat. Biog. A list is given in O'Grady, Cat. 342. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, I. 120-2.

We trace their long succession for some four or five hundred years in the O'Roneys of Ulster;[1] in the O'Husseys; in the O'Mulconrys, great teachers "without a blot," famed for history and poetry;[2] in the O'Higginses of Achonry, owners of many thousand acres of land in Sligo; or the race of MacFirbis in Lecan, who had as long and honourable a history—they kept open a free
1317-77. school: one of them Gilla Isa Mor, was chief
1418. compiler of the Book of Lecan; and the Annals
1666. written by the family for over 200 years remained in the keeping of the last scholar of their house.
1597-1671. This last Duald MacFirbis was trained at the school of the MacEgans in Tipperary and that of the Davorens at Burren in Clare. One of the greatest of Irish scholars in history, law, philology, and hagiology, he fell on evil days when poverty and neglect were the only portion of an Irish student. For a short time he was secretary to Sir James Ware, who profited by his learning but has not mentioned his name. At
1677. eighty he was stabbed by a Protestant gentleman whose religion secured him from punishment. So died the last in a great succession of learning. "His death," wrote a later Irish scholar Charles O'Connor, "closes the line of the hereditary antiquaries of Lecan in Tirfiacra of the Moy—a family whose law reports and historical collec-

[1] O'Gr. Cat. 500.

[2] 4 M. p. 1483; Tribes of Hy-Fiachrach, ed. O'Donovan, 227

tions, many of which lie now dispersed in England and France, have derived great credit to their country."[1]

The Irish brehon was a wealthy and influential dignitary, removed like a judge of our own time by his position from baser influences. Three signs, said an Irish proverb, marked a judge's house, wisdom, information, intellect.[2] "My eloquent Néra! if a judge thou be, thou must utter no judgment without knowledge; without cognisance; without precedent. Without foundation solid, without bond, thou must not lay down. To mercy violence may not be done. Before thou know, thou must not proceed. Blind-judging thou must not be. Thou must not be obstinately blind, not rash. (For bribes emanating) from either great or small thou shalt not consent (one way or another)."[3] The Brehons kept the record of the septs and families, their rights and dignities, the lands they ought to hold, and their claims of rents and services. So far as we can tell there was no machinery for putting the decision of the judge in force: his power lay only in the consent of public opinion, and we must believe, from the persistence of Irish law in spite of all efforts to overthrow it, from the affection of the people for it, and their loyal obedience to its

[1] Ib. Introd. See O'Rourke's Sligo, ii. 508.

[2] Triads, K. Meyer.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. MSS. 144; see 81, 83. The Brehon was liable to pay the eric of his own false judgment.

decrees, that the code was humane and wise and justly administered. Mediaeval law in general was little more than a pious opinion of the law-makers, very feebly put into effect by kings whose dominions were far wider than their power; but there is evidence to show that in the Irish territories the law was really carried out. For Irish law was not far from any one of the people. Their code was one for the entire land, and the multitude of copies made by the schools of the various tribes are in substance the same, scarcely differing save in the words of their glosses. But "every country had his peculiar Brehon dwelling within itself, that had power to decide the causes of that country." The law dispensed at the ancient hill of assembly was the possession of the tribe, sprung from their midst. "Three doors," said the Irish, "through which truth is recognised: a patient answer, a firm pleading, appealing to witnesses: . . . three glories of a gathering: a judge without perturbation, a decision without reviling, terms (agreed upon) without fraud."[1]

[1] Triads, ed. Kuno Meyer. I add a few more of these proverbs. "Three causes that do not die with neglect: the causes of an imbecile, and of oppression and of ignorance." "Three things which justice demands: judgment, measure, conscience." "Three things which judgment demands: wisdom, penetration, knowledge." "Three waves without wisdom: hard pleading, judgment without knowledge, a talkative gathering." "Three doors of a falsehood: an angry pleading, a shifting foundation of knowledge, giving information without memory."

"It is a great abusion and reproach" wrote c. 1520.
Chief Baron Finglas of his English countrymen in Ireland, "that the laws and statutes made in this land are not observed nor kept after the making of them eight days; which matter is one of the destructions of *Englishmen* of this land; and divers *Irishmen* doth observe and keep such laws and statutes which they make upon hills in their country firm and stable, without breaking them for any favour or reward."[1] By all report the 1592.
people were singularly law-abiding. "The Irish," said Payne,[2] "keep their promise faithfully and are more desirous of peace than the English; nothing is more pleasing to them than good justice." "There is no nation of people under the sun," reported attorney-general Davies, "that doth love 1607.
equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, as they may have the protection and benefit of the law when upon just cause they do desire it."[3]

The companionship of the chiefs with men of learning showed itself in the culture of the ruling families. It was as honourable for an Irish chief to be a distinguished student as to be a renowned warrior. They set the example of learning in their own houses. Modern writers

[1] Finglass' Breviate of Ireland, p. 101, in Harris' Hibernica.

[2] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne's Descr.

[3] Davies, 213, ed. D. 1787.

have contemptuously noted that an O'Donnell and a Maguire in 1563 signed a treaty with a +, probably a merely formal signature. They have not recorded that the O'Donnells and Maguires were a race of cultured men. All Ireland knew the Maguires of Fermanagh, a family "of greatest fame and noblest deeds"[1]
1338. for many generations. "Rory the Hospitable," lord of Fermanagh, had bestowed more silver, apparel, steeds, and cattle on the learned men and chief professors of Ireland than any of his
1394- house. Thomas Gilla-Duv was of universal
1430. hospitality, founder of monasteries, churches and abbeys, maker of many images, pacifier of territories and chieftains.[2] Ireland and Scotland
1430-81. were once full of the fame of Thomas Oge; who twice travelled to Compostella and once to
1447. Rome;[3] his masons put the "French roof" on the church of Aghalurcher, where one of his sons, a wise man learned in Latin and Irish, was vicar-choral and kept a house of hospitality; his carpenters made new engines for casting stones; his master-wright, "a man that kept a general guest-house and an eminent gold-wright also," made far-famed golden mass-chalices and images. His son trained in a court of poets, historians, and lawyers, was renowned as a book-
d. 1501. collector; and his grandson John was the most

[1] 4 M. pp. 735, 839. [2] 4 M. p. 879.
[3] 4 M. pp. 953, 1113; An. Uls. iii. 269.

merciful and humane of the Irish, the best in jurisdiction, authority, and rule in Church and State.[1] After 400 years the peasants of Fermanagh still call the island of Seanadh *Bally-Macmanus*[2] after the name of MacManus Maguire the historian: and his son again, farmer of Seanadh and Official of Lough Erne, was famed as a wise man skilled in the sciences.[3] Another Maguire was the best householder of all Fermanagh.[4] The unhappy Cuchonnacht, was a learned scholar in Latin and Irish and lord of munificence after the tradition of the Fermanagh chiefs:[5] born in an evil day to see his land ravaged by the wars of the English with O'Neill for its overlordship, he disappeared into a Dublin prison: the calamities of the time live in the burning exhortations and laments of the poets that gathered round his house. O'Hussey sang the hopes with which Hugh Maguire was inaugurated with Irish rites at Lisnaskea,[6] and chanted the terrific song of his hosting under the fury of the firmament.[7]

d. 1498.

d. 1527

1530.

1566-88

1589.

[1] 4 M. p. 1267. For Nicholas Maguire (d. 1512) see Ware's Writers, 91.

[2] 4 M. p. 1240 n.

[3] 4 M. p. 1389. [4] Ib. p. 1399.

[5] 4 M. p. 1875; cf. O'Grady, Cat. 449 n. 1. For the bards of Fermanagh and collection of their poems at Copenhagen see Stern, Z.C.P. II. ii. 323; Hyde, Lit. Hist. 536.

[6] O'Grady, 476, 550 n. 1.

[7] See Mangan's translation, and O'Grady, 451-2, 454-6; *v.* app.

Under the Maguires "Fermanagh of the bending woods,"[1] bowing beneath all "wealthy produce of fruit-bearing boughs," had become
c. 1580. a home of all industries and of learning. We have seen O'Higgins' account of the fleet of ships on the lake, and the artificers in the chief's hall. The same picture of a busy industry is curtly
1607. given by Davies: "the natives of this county are reputed the worst swordsmen of the north, being rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen[2] than to be kerne or men of action, as they term rebels in this kingdom; and for this cause Maguire in the late wars did hire and wage the greatest part of his soldiers out of Connacht and out of the Breffni O'Reilly."[3] "Assuredly," comments Davies, "these Irish lords appear to us like glow-worms, which afar off seem to be all fire, but being taken up in a man's hands are but silly worms"—so difficult was it for any man, scholar, artisan, or warrior, being Irish, to give satisfaction to the English.

The O'Donnells were no less distinguished for their love of books and learning. In
1402. the Irish revival one of them had been "a learned historian."[4] Before his day O'Doherty
a. 1345. the son of O'Donnell's chief poet was taken prisoner by the O'Conors of Sligo, and a ransom given for him of the two best manuscripts in

[1] O'Grady, 409. [2] And skilled craftsmen of all kinds.
[3] Davies, D. 1787, 255-6. [4] 4 M. p. 775.

Donegal—the "Book of Princely Institutions" to preserve manners, morals, and government in the kingdom, "which book contains as goodly precepts and moral doctrines as Cato or Aristotle did ever write": and "the Book of the Kings" written at Clonmacnois; with the history of the kings, what the high-king was entitled to receive from the provincial kings, the dues of these lesser kings from their subjects, and of the nobles from those under them; also the boundaries and meares of Ireland from shore to shore, the provinces and town-lands.[1] These books lay over 125 years in Connacht, held by twelve successive lords of Sligo: it was the glory of Hugh Roe O'Donnell the Great, "of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule of all the Gaels in Ireland in his time," to carry them back as prize of war[2] with the chairs of Donnell Oge.[3] With his wife Finola O'Brien, "who as regarded both body and soul had gained more fame and renown than any of her contemporaries,"[4] he built the monastery of Donegal and began its fine library. His daughter Gormley, a most bounteous and hospitable woman, bestowed many gifts on the churches "and upon the literary men and ollaves, which indeed was what might have been expected from her."[5]

1470.

1474.

[1] 4 M. pp. 116-117, 1068. [2] Soc. of Ant., July 1857, p. 372.

[3] Donnell Oge had been inaugurated as O'Donnell of Tirconnell in 1258; O'Gr. Cat. 350. Fac. Nat. MSS. I. p. xix.

[4] 4 M. pp. 1393, 1087. [5] 4 M. p. 1373.

1522. His son and successor Hugh Duff gave one hundred and forty milch cows to buy the Book
d. 1563. of Ballimote.[1] Manus O'Donnell like his grand-
d. 1535. father Hugh Roe married a wife, Judith O'Neill, the most renowned of her time for piety and hospitality.[2] A bad politician in a very troubled time, he was friendly, benign, and bountiful "towards the learned, the destitute, the poets and the ollaves, towards the Orders and the Church, as is evident from the old people and historians: a learned man, skilled in many arts, gifted with a profound intellect and the knowledge of every science."[3] Before disaster thickened round him and his people he lived as a student working at his life of St. Columba:[4]
1532. "he gathered and collected the parts of it that were scattered through the old books of Erin, and he dictated it out of his own mouth with great labour . . . studying how he should arrange all the parts of it in their places": he ordered the part that was in Latin to be put into Gaelic, and that which was in difficult Gaelic to be modified, so that it should be clear
d. 1583. and comprehensible. Conn O'Donnell grandson of Manus spent like his ancestors much of his wealth in the purchase of poems and panegyrics and supporting the pillars of the *literati*, and

[1] O'Reilly's Cat. cv. [2] 4 M. p. 1423.

[3] 4 M. pp. 1595-7.

[4] Fac. Nat. MSS. III. lxvi. Part 1. ed by Henebry in Z.C.P.

his daughter Margaret[1] was celebrated by Teige Dall as a bountiful friend of the poets. Beside the lords of Donegal stood the famous succession of the O'Clerys,[2] their ollaves in literature, history, and poetry, of high descent, men of consideration and great power, entertainers of the learned, the exiled, and the literary men of neighbouring territories.

The O'Neills maintained the fame of "Ulster's art-loving province." Donnell O'Neill was writer of the famous appeal of Ireland to the Pope against English aggression and treachery:[3] Neill O'Neill "destroyer of the English, uniter of the Irish, exalter of the Church and Sciences of Ireland," renewed the glories of Emain Macha by raising on that mound of famous memories a palace to entertain all the learned men of Ireland, and earned once more from the poet for his house the glorious name "O'Neill of Ailech and of Emania."[4] Felim, protector of the learned and the exiled, was "the head of the bardic bands and pilgrims of Ireland, and one that most bought of poetic and erudite composition, and was the greatest rhymster that was in Ireland in his time":[5] his son Brian was illustrious for hospitality and for that he "most bought of poetry and did most of raids of border-lands

1318.

1375-97.

d. 1461.

d. 1461.

d. 1482.

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 422. [2] 4 M. pp. 1195, 1313, 1389, 1607.

[3] See King's Ch. Hist. iii. 1119.

[4] Hyde, Lit. Hist. 527. [5] An. Uls. iii. p. 205.

that was in his time. And the benison of
d. 1496. erudition and science on his soul";[1] "Neill the Anglicised" was nick-named by the people for his English talk and liking for English dress
1512. and customs.[2] Later O'Neills were famed in
1514.
1544. history, poetry, and music; full of skill and knowledge in every science.[3]

In the mountainous border-land of Ulster and Connacht, swept by war and the march of armies English and Irish over the debated boundaries, Breffni had its home of learning[4] of a ravishing beauty scarcely excelled by the O'Neill palace of Benburb. The ruins of the banqueting hall of the O'Rourkes at Dromahair are lifted on a green promontory over the bend of the river Bonnet, where the mountains open out to pasture land under a spacious sky, and the line of every stream is marked by little raths for cattle, the folds of old times. The palace was the shelter of many a scholar. There Owen O'Rourke and
1508. his wife Margaret O'Brien planned the Friary[5] they built across the water, magnificent and richly endowed: on one of the low pillars of the cloister an Irish artist carved a tree with roots and branches growing into a Celtic pattern, and in the branches a S. Francis preaching to

[1] An. Uls. iii. p. 281; 4 M. p. 1121. For Brian MacNamee bard of Henry O'Neill (d. 1489) see Z.C.P. ii. 352-3.

[2] 4 M. p. 1227. [3] Ib. pp. 1313, 1327, 1485.

[4] Cf. O'Reilly, Irish Writers, a. 1293. [5] Uls. Arch. J. v. 190.

the birds of God—the saint may have seemed to the Irishman a re-incarnation in his passion of charity of those Irish missionaries whose singular glory it had been through five hundred years to win peoples to the faith by human love without help of axe or fire or deadly viper. A reliquary is preserved in the Dublin museum which Brian had made, probably to replace one destroyed by a fire—a mournful work made in 1536.
haste and under foreign influence, with repetition 1537.
of cheap ornament unknown in the schools of Irish artists. This hurriedly-wrought reliquary, in the very year that Henry VIII. dissolved the monasteries, marks the beginning of evil days. Owen's son Brian O'Rourke, a good writer who needed no secretary for his corre- d. 1562
spondence,[1] adorned the palace with "the best collection of poems" of all his tribe, and gathered in his banqueting hall the greatest number of poets.[2] But the armies of the Connacht presidents scattered the friars of Creevelea: Sir John Bingham stabled his troopers' horses in the church and burned its fine wood-work for their cooking fires. A touching story tells how the friars driven from their house still preserved the tradition of learning even in the extremity of ruin:[3] for two hundred years they hid themselves in huts round the old church where they

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 482-3.

[2] 4 M. p. 1591.

[3] Uls. Arch. J. v. 190; 4 M. p. 1300.

still secretly gathered to worship: and it was
1718. a poor friar of this convent who was the first to put a Latin grammar in the hands of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare.

There was no part of Ireland, to its remotest mountains, where culture had not penetrated, nor would it be possible to find a leading chieftain's house which did not boast of a line of scholars. The Burkes gave half-a-dozen bishops to their province.[1] From the Moy to Burren Connacht had a wealth of schools, learned men, and houses of hospitality. Its peasants down to our own days have recited the poems of O'Daly handed down among them for 600 years,[2] a poet
d. 1244. famed above all others for the sweetness of his verse, its gravity and dignity. Those of Leitrim still remember the site of the bardic school of the O'Duigennans at Castlefore by its old Irish name, Baile Coillte Foghar, "the town of the woods of Foghar": they were a famous sept, ollaves of history to the MacRannells of south Leitrim, to the MacDonoughs of Cill Ronain in Roscommon, and to the MacDermotts of Moy Lurg near Boyle, employed and rewarded by O'Kelly of Hy Many, and erenaghs of the church of Cill Ronain founded by one of them in 1339.[3]

[1] Ware's Bishops, pp. 506, 641, 612, 499, 642, 256, 502.

[2] Hyde, Lit. His. 467; Songs of Connacht; O'Reilly, Irish Writers, xc.; O'Grady, Cat. 345.

[3] 4 M. p. 565.

In like manner the Munster chiefs were "protecting heroes" to the learned, and gathered scholars to national festivals.[1] The land of the MacCarthys stretched west of Cork for sixty miles to the very uttermost parts next towards Spain.[2] Donnell, MacCarthy Mor, was a poet.[3] His son-in-law Fineen, son of MacCarthy Reagh, chief of Carbery, had never been sent to an English university where he would have been a hostage, nor had he an English tutor (and spy) as "the commendable lords of the Pale did." But he had learned much from his Irish teachers and his Spanish friends. He knew Latin, English, and Spanish perfectly. He was a finished scholar in the Old Irish used some hundreds of years before his time, "copious and elegant," as he said, "though now out of use." He was skilled in the history and antiquities of his own country. He was completely trained both in Irish and in English law, and in the conduct of the most difficult questions raised by English lawyers as to his inheritance and property, he held his own against all the resources of the English court and bar. Irish scribes had taught him the skill of hand in writing for which they were famous, and the poets and historians had trained his memory according to their habit. Both are

1531-2

1565.

1610.

[1] 4 M. p. 1403.

[2] MacCarthy, 136.

[3] Ib. 143-4. Two of his poems remain: "A Sorrowful Vision has deceived me," and a poem to the Virgin.

shown in the remarkable treatise on the Antiquities of his country, which he wrote "after nine years of extreme endurance" in the Tower, "before I end my life in the languishing torture of this close prison."[1] The pages, recovered and published after 250 years by O'Donovan, are written without a blot, with scarcely a correction, in a hand distinct, clear, and firm as print, and so minute that there seemed on the page but a slender thread of white encircling each word.

Norman and English settlers had been early adopted into Irish life. Ireland made her brave boast of all her children. "Seldom it hath been with us and with yourselves," sang the Irish poet, "de Burgo's blood of notable achievements—champions to whom it fell to safeguard Ireland—that with each other we should be at variance."[2] They gathered all peoples into the common family. According to the bards the FitzGeralds had sprung from Greece (in proof of which perhaps the glorious David had shone at the Olympicum);[3] the Burkes were Franks, showing their descent from Charlemagne by exploits greater than those of the Baldwins; all the other incomers were plain Saxons.[4] The foreigners themselves had been caught, as we have seen, by the spell of
1362. Irish culture. French, long used as the language

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. IV. i. lxxii-iii and n.; O'Grady, Cat. 61.

[2] O'Gr. Cat. 403, 428-9.

[3] *v.* p. 243.

[4] O'Grady, Cat. 428-9, 454.

of public business, died away among the barons in private speech: though a proclamation was read in both French and English that it might be generally understood, a lord who spoke French was nick-named "the Frenchman."[1] In the Pale English was supposed to be used, but every gentleman there had Irish, and most of them as their ordinary and customary language. "The King's subjects," Henry's chief justice said, were "near hand Irish, and wear their habits and use their tongue." "All the English March borderers use Irish apparel and the Irish tongue, as well in peace as in war, and for the most part use the same in the English Pale, unless they come to parliament or council."[2] They "not only forgot the English language but scorned the use thereof,"[3] wrote Lynch. "It is not expedient," complained Stanihurst,[4] "that the Irish tongue should be so universally gaggled in the English Pale"; why, he asked, was the Pale "more given to learn the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learn English? we must embrace their language and they detest ours!" "Rebels," the Anglo-Irish were to English-born officials, "degenerate." But to the Irish patriot all who lived in the common country owed, like all other peoples, their first loyalty to the land that encompassed

1465. 1324. 1326. 1537. 1571.

[1] Gilb. Viceroys, 158, 192; Clyn. 18; H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 271; Ware's Ant. 245; *v.* app.

[2] C.S.P. 1537, 32. [3] Camb. Ev. i. 233. [4] Hol. vi. 5, 6.

them with its skies, and fed them with the fatness of its fields, and nourished them with the civilisation of its dead. There was no prouder family of the Anglo-Irish than the Lynches, who claimed to share with King James himself the blood of the Red Earl Richard de Burgo. "If," exclaimed one of them, "those Irishmen whose names denote their English or their Irish descent, and who can trace back their parents or either of them to an English stock, have the same regard for England, their original country, as the English have for the Saxons and Normans, the French for the Sicambri, the Spaniards for the Goths, the Italians for the Vandals, and other nations for the people from whence they sprang, have they not punctually done all that can justly be required of them?"[1]

Surrounded by Irish historians and singers,[2] building monasteries for the patriot Franciscans, the Anglo-Irish rivalled the mere Irish in learning. We read of Jenkin Savadge in the Ards that
d. 1374. "the literati were left orphans by his death."[3] There remains a token of how the lords of Athenry had thrown themselves into Irish life,
d. 1376. in the shrine[4] made by Thomas de Bermingham

[1] Camb. Ev. iii. 175.

[2] Athairne O'Hosey (d. 1489), a poet and a good scholar and a youth honoured among the English and Irish, was distinguished for musical powers both vocal and instrumental. 4 M. p. 1175 n.

[3] 4 M. p. 659 n. [4] Nat. Mus. Dub.

for S. Patrick's tooth, the most venerated relic in Connacht—a shrine of silver, decorated with raised figures in silver and settings of crystals, coloured glass, and amber, with spiral and interlaced work of Celtic art. Nugents and Cusacks[1] and Englishes, and other foreign names were entered on the roll of Irish poets. In the ardour of Irish studies a Fitzgerald, even a Butler, was not behind a MacCarthy or an O'Sullivan.

The house of Ormond, it is true, had been artificially kept apart from the national life. For nearly 200 years the heirs were all in turn minors, held in ward by the king. A training at the English court, constant visits there, knighthoods and earldoms and wealthy English marriages, tied the heirs of the house to England. But MacRichard Butler, "Captain of his nation," his mother an O'Reilly, his wife an O'Carroll of Ely, had been the pupil of a great Irish scholar and patriot, O'Hedigan archbishop of Cashel,[2]—the great builder and repairer of churches, he who had been impeached on the charge that he made very much of the Irish and that he loved none of the English, and that he gave no benefice to Englishmen [in defiance of the statute of 1416 that no one of

1406-1440. 1421.

[1] Christopher Cusack of Meath made a book of Collections relating to Irish Affairs (1511). Ware's Writers, 91.

[2] Ware's Bishops, 480; 4 M. pp. 1021, 1030 n; *v.* app.

the Irish nation might hold any ecclesiastical post,] and advised other bishops to the like practice.

462. When MacRichard was taken in war by Desmond he gave for his ransom the chief of all his treasures—the "Book of Carrick" and the "Psalter of Cashel" written for him by O'Clery, and still preserved at Oxford with its inscription—"A blessing on the soul of the Archbishop of Cashel, *i.e.* Richard O'Hedigan, for it was by him the owner of this book was educated."[1]

1539. His son Red Piers made Kilkenny famous for its artificers from Flanders, makers of diapers, tapestries, Turkey carpets, and other like works,[2] for its gardens and orchards, and for the school he

1539-46. founded.[3] MacRichard's grandson, Earl James, was known for "the entire affection he bare his

1542. country." It was he who in Parliament translated into Irish the Speaker's address and the Chancellor's answer.[4] Ormond as he was, he wept openly, the tears streaming down "his leeres," at the ruin and humiliations of the Kildares; a suspected man at the court, dying of English

546. poison in London, "before he could see that day after which he doubtless looked and longed, the restitution of the house of Kildare," he bequeathed his heart to Kilkenny,[5] that where his mind was settled in his life his heart should be there entombed after his death.

[1] 4 M. p. 1030 n. [2] St. Pap. III. iii. 146 n. [3] P. 366.
[4] St. Pap. I. iii. 304. [5] Hol. vi. 318-20; *v.* app.

It was the Fitzgeralds however, of Desmond and of Kildare, who were beloved in Ireland as the most learned and most bountiful of the foreigners who had come among them. "Gerald the Rhymer" third Earl of Desmond, "a nobleman of wonderful bounty, mirth, cheerfulness in conversation, charitable in his deeds, easy of access, a witty and ingenious composer of Irish poetry," "excelled all the English and many of the Irish in the knowledge of the Irish language, poetry, and history, and of other learning."[1] 1359-98.

Earl James, foster-son of O'Brien, cousin of Henry VI., had an O'Daly for his "chief Dán-maker." He was not regarded in his time as having sunk into barbarism. The scholar Aretino, Secretary of the Republic of Florence, complimented him with a letter: "Magnificent Lord and dearest friend, if it be true, and is publicly stated, that your progenitors were of Florentine origin, and of the right noble and antique stock of the Gherardini, still one of the greatest and highest families of our State, we have ample reason to rejoice and congratulate ourselves that our people have not only acquired possessions in Apulia, Greece, and Hungary, but that our Florentines, through you and yours bear sway even in Ibernia, the most remote island in the world. O great glory of our State! O singular benevolence of God towards 1416-62. 1440.

[1] 4 M. p. 760 n., 761.

our people! from whom have sprung so many nobles and dominations, diffused over the entire orbit of the earth." Earl Thomas, bountiful to
1462-8. learned men, founded a College at Youghal, and desired to make a University at the frontier
1465-6. town of Drogheda, where Irishmen shut out of Oxford might study and be made masters and doctors in all sciences and faculties—that Drogheda where he himself was "extortiously slain and murdered by colour of the laws" by Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, "the Butcher." It was for his daughter Catherine, married to MacCarthy
1450-1500. Reagh, that the Book of Lismore was compiled from the now lost Book of Monasterboice. The messengers of a later Earl James carried presents to Charles v. at Toledo and begged in return
1529. for artillery and cannon,[1] and when Charles' envoy cruised along the Munster coast, with his commission oddly enough made out in English, Desmond requested him to read it in Latin for the benefit of his Irish council. His unhappy son Earl Garrett, and John of Desmond, and James Fitzmaurice, were "three lords loved like none other"—John "the beloved of the
1570. bards of Erin"—James "a man very valiant, politic, and learned, as any rebel hath been of that nation for many years,"[2] skilled both in Latin and English.

[1] The Pilgrim, ed. Froude, p. 169; Car. i. 42-3; *v.* app.

[2] Z.C.P. ii. 347; Perrot's Life, 50.

The highest union of the culture of England and of Ireland was in the Fitzgeralds of Kildare. The Great Earl Garrett was as conspicuous for ability among London courtiers as among Irish chiefs: like Desmond he too once wrote to Florence announcing himself head of the "Gherardini" in Ireland. "To increase their joy"[1] he told the Florentines of his wealth and honours, and of a relation called the Earl of Desmond who owned 100 miles of country: and asked a history of the House, who are in France and who in Rome, and whether they would like hawks, horses, or dogs for the chase. His beautiful church at Sligo, as it may be traced under later disfigurations, shows the Great Earl as a distinguished lover of the arts. He laid the foundation of a true civilization of Ireland, based on Irish law and custom; and this great conception was carried on by Earl Garrett, his son, who inherited his ability and his patriotism. The most handsome man of his time, he lived in princely style. At Maynooth was "such stores of beds, so many goodly hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such brave furniture as truly it was accounted for household stuff and utensils one of the richest earl's houses under the crown of England."[2] Gold and silver goblets and great candlesticks and bottles for damask water

1480-1513.

1513-34

[1] Gilb. Viceroys, 473; cf. Hol. vi. 46-7.

[2] Hol. vi. 300, 309; Lives of Kildares, ii. 46, 47, 53.

loaded his table. He built the college of Maynooth "in a most beautiful form." The Red Book of the estates and rentals of Kildare had
d. 1519. been drawn up by Philip Flattisbury for the Great Earl his father, and Garrett Oge was known in his turn as "the greatest improver of his lands in this land."[1] He kept the state of an Irish chief. From his vast stables with
1517. 300 brood mares he gave in Irish fashion horses every year to a host of friends and retainers, who followed him as he rode in his scarlet cloak to war. Four hundred spearmen were of his following. His hospitality was more lavish than that of any man of his day. A number of Irish chiefs paid him rent in return for his protection, a groat on every cow that grazed on certain lands: maintaining Irish taxes, he never oppressed the people with any arbitrary or lawless impost.[2] He was a lover of Irish learning.
1536. O'Mulconry was his ollave, a man full of the grace of God and of learning, whom the Geraldines and the English had selected in preference to all the chief poets of Ireland, and gave him jewels and riches.[3] Philip Flattisbury was employed to transcribe divers chronicles of Ireland for him, and his library was as well furnished with Irish books as with English:[4] there his

[1] St. Pap. II. iii. 185, 300.

[2] C.S.P. 1557, 137; Car. i. 264-5. [3] 4 M. p. 1345.

[4] O'Gr. p. 154; Fac. Nat. MSS. III. lx.-lxiv.; Dowling, vi.; Ware's Writers of Ireland, p. 92; Hol. vi. 233-267.

brother Richard, "more bookish than the rest, was much given to the studies of antiquity." "In short time he made his English wife to read, write, and perfectly speak the Irish tongue." His son Silken Thomas, surrounded by Irish poets and historians, was carefully educated, as we may see by the clear and beautiful hand-writing of the letter from prison in which he told his trusty servant Rothe of his piteous destitution.[1]

By a fine custom the Irish chiefs, "heroes who reject not men of learning," were in their own houses "the sheltering tree of the learned"[2] and of the whole countryside. When a noble-man made a set feast or "coshering," there flocked to it all the retainers and many a visitor, the mighty and the needy—a gay and free democracy of hearers and critics, with a welcome for "every first-rate and free-hearted man that is refined and intelligent, affable and hilarious."[3] Far-off wanderers lovingly recalled "Ireland's rushes green" that carpeted the floor when the people gathered "to hear their rhymers, their bards, their harpers that feed them with music, and when the harper twangeth or singeth a song all the company must be whist, or else he chafeth like a cut-purse by reason his harmony is not had in better price."[4] The standard of

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. III. lxviii.
[2] Hy-Fiachrach, 207, 227.
[3] O'Grady, Cat. 493.
[4] Hol. vi. 57.

art and scholarship was kept up as well by the criticism of a lively and ingenious people as by the patronage of the chiefs; and from time to time we see a figure illuminated by the popular affection—that wonderful bard who was "the Head of the jocularity of Ireland," or that other nicknamed "Of the Stories," or MacDermot the Blind[1] "a small blind man that retained much poetry, and a man of great memory for everything he heard of, and in particular for the ages and for the stories of people."

The house of an Irish chief was in fact an academy of courtesy and conversation. "Sweetly
c. 1213. would I sleep," sang an Irish pilgrim in the Adriatic, "on my visit to Murray's[2] gentle joyous race; in Cruahan along with the graceful company and upon Ireland's rushes green." "Four hatreds of a chief," ran the Irish saying: "a silly flighty man, a slavish useless man, a lying dishonourable man, a talkative man who has no story to tell. For a chief does not grant speech save to four: a poet for satire and praise, a chronicler of good memory for narration and story-telling, a judge for giving judgments, an historian for ancient lore."[3] Irish proverbs illustrate the conduct of their good society. "Three ungentlemanly things: interrupting stories, a mischievous game, jesting

[1] An. Uls. 1458, p. 197.

[2] Murray O'Daly of Lisadill in Sligo; O'Grady, Cat. 337-8; *v.* Hy-Fiachrach, 187, 222.

[3] Triads, K. Meyer.

so as to raise a blush. . . . Three rude ones of the world: a youngster mocking an old man, a healthy person mocking an invalid, a wise man mocking a fool. . . . Three fair things that hide ugliness: good manners in the ill-favoured, skill in a serf, wisdom in the mis-shapen."

But the gatherings of the learned taught more than manners. When Manus MacMahon[1] made depredations on the English, and set their heads upon the stakes of the garden of his own mansion seat, Baile-na-Lurgan (Five-mile town near Carrickmacross), the bards, minstrels, and poor of Ireland who frequented his house were shocked at a spectacle so hideous and horrible to the beholders. The scholar may occasionally have boasted the independence of his own ancient order against the clerical hierarchy, as when MacNamee, rich, skilled in poetry and literature, a great entertainer, "struck the Great Cross," (or was he perhaps an Angliciser?) and died about the festival of Columcille through the miracles of God and the Saint and the curse of O'Roarty.[2] 1432 1542.

The disdainful words of rhymsters, beggars, strolling bards and minstrels, vagabonds to be committed to the stocks, which were used indiscriminately by the English for the whole body of Irish poets and chroniclers, or Spenser's subtle phrase of scorn, whether malicious or ignorant—"*a certain kind of people called bards*

[1] 4 M. p. 889. [2] 4 M. p. 1467.

which are to them instead of poets"—these and such like insinuations long repeated have answered their purpose of filling men's minds with contempt of Irish scholars and their alleged cheap and vulgar appeals to barbarism. The weight of centuries of calumny lies heavy on their graves. But no student can remain in such disdain. "In
1660. the opinion," wrote Lynch, "of men who are well acquainted with several languages Irish poetry does not yield, either in variety, construction, or polish of its metres, to the poetry of any nation in Europe."[1] Modern scholars have pointed out the "miraculous freedom" with which the Irish, escaping from mediaeval conventions, led the way in poetry of pure Nature,[2] and as one gift among the many given by them to Europe stirred the Continent with the spell of the sea: they have shown to those who supposed effusiveness of thought, luxuriousness of language, and vague fancies to be the chief characteristic of the race, other qualities—classic reserve in thought, form, and expression, a penetrating and varied emotion which no lapse of centuries can render old.[3]

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 185. [2] Ker, Dark Ages, 147, 329-62.

[3] See King and Hermit, ed. K. Meyer. Wohlleben, London, 1901.

Songs of Summer and Winter, ed. K. Meyer. Nutt, 1903.
Liadain and Curithir, ed. K. Meyer. Nutt, 1902.
The old woman of Beare, ed. K. Meyer. Otia Merseiana, i.
Other stories and songs from Irish MSS. Ib. ii. iii. iv.
Cf. Lecture on Ancient Gaelic Poetry. K. Meyer.
Songs, ed. K. Meyer. Eriu. I. i. 40; II. i. 56; II. ii. 172; III. i. 13. O'Grady, Cat. 488, 494; *v.* app.

There were ill-taught and ill-conditioned men of letters then as well as now, but it was for their learning and their wisdom that the true poets and scholars were welcomed by the leading classes of Ireland. They appealed to two great sources of human endeavour—love of country and love of beauty—and to know how profound was the influence of their culture and humanity we have only to watch the violence of their extermination.

But the greatest lesson of the scholars' gatherings was their perpetual remembrance of the bond of learning which knit together the whole Irish race on both sides of the sea—that spiritual commonwealth which had never yet been utterly overthrown since the days of Columcille.

For it is a signal fact that Irish education never lost sight of a national union: it never ceased, from the gatherings at Tara down through the centuries, to stir the people of Ireland with the remembrance of their common inheritance in all that shapes the thought and spiritual life of a people.

Long before the coming of the English the school of Armagh had become the centre of Irish life. "In Ireland the strong burh of Tara has died, while Armagh lives filled with learned champions."[1] With its three thousand scholars, famous for its teachers, under its High Professor

1133-54
1154-74

[1] Corm. Glos. lxxi.

Florence Gorman who had spent twenty-one years of study in England and France, it had been made the national university "for all the
1169. Irish and the Scots": and Roderick king of Ireland had given the first annual grant to maintain a professor there for the whole Irish race.[1] Ruin fell on the university under English
1202. domination. King John would have put an Englishman in S. Patrick's chair at Armagh: the Irish by a desperate struggle kept out the strangers for a while; but after a few alternations of Irish, English, and German prelates, not one of them consecrated in Ireland, the unhappy conflict at last ended, and there began the long line of English archbishops, scarcely broken by the rare name of an Irishman trained as a foreigner.

The object of these political archbishops was mere conquest, and for centuries Armagh became the prey of soldiers. English troops "obtained great gifts from the clergy and students of the town as considerations for refraining from burning
1432. their churches."[2] But there survived in Ireland the dream of a united commonwealth of scholars. Their chief men of science ruled far beyond the tribe, and rested in no local fame. The O'Higgins[3] were for centuries down to the

[1] Lanigan, ix. 190; cf. Ware's Bishops, pp. 52, 60; Antiquities, 241; Annals Uls. 1162; 4 M. p. 1147; *v.* app.

[2] 4 M. p. 891.

[3] Ib. pp. 961, 969, 1099, 1165, 1305, 1425; An. Loch Cé, ii. 177, 207.

times of persecution the "chief preceptors in poetry of all Ireland," "of Ireland and Scotland," "of the Gaeidhil," "superintendents of the schools of Ireland." Paidin O'Mulconry was "preceptor of the men of Erin in poetry and history":[1] MacWard, ollave to O'Donnell in poetry, was "superintendent of schools":[2] O'Morrisey had the post of "master of schools, general lecturer of the men of Ireland."[3] The famous Teige O'Coffey appears as "preceptor of the schools of Ireland in poetry" and "chief preceptor of Ireland and Scotland":[4] and one O'Fiaich as qualified by his knowledge of Latin and poetry to become chief professor of history for the two countries.[5] In the same way there was a "superintendent of the schools of jurisprudence"[6] in which the common law of the whole country was preserved and expounded. Even "the good-letter folk" of all Ireland, the calligraphists, had their national competition.[7]

1448-1536. d. 1506. 1541. 1545. d. 1554 1507.

We cannot tell the exact meaning of these titles until the later organisation of the Irish schools has been studied: we know however that Scots came to study[8] in the Irish schools;

[1] Ib. 207. [2] 4 M. p. 1465. [3] Ib. p. 1493. [4] Ib. p 1537.

[5] 4 M. p. 1293. The same intercourse in medicine between the two countries is seen in the inscription on an Irish medical MS. "I am Donoch who wrote this, and it is in the house of John of Scotland that I am myself."

[6] Ib. p. 909. [7] O'Grady, Cat. 339; *v.* app.

[8] O'Grady, Cat. 328, 335, 361.

we know that the great teachers were incessantly travelling,[1] that their intercourse with chiefs and discussions with professors of every part of Ireland was frequent, that they had the freedom of the whole country so that it was as natural for an O'Clery to keep his hospitality in Clare as in Donegal, and that the scholars of all Ireland could compete for the post of ollave to any chieftain; thus one MacEgan might be ollave of law in Connacht and another in Munster, and a bard who had served James earl of Desmond and his brother John, and James Fitzmaurice, when he was made homeless by their deaths won a place in the court of the lord of Fermanagh.[2]

All provincial limits were thus obliterated for the Irish scholar: if the local chief was his patron, Ireland was his country,[3] and the bards watched with equal care the fortunes of the whole land.[4] The sense of unity was profound. For while the leaders of learning aspired to the title of superiority over all the schools of Ireland

[1] The "bardic circuit," 4 M. p. 1175.

[2] 4 M. a. 1443; Stern, Z.C.P. ii. 323, etc. The sentries posted by the Red Branch at the outlets of Ulster to turn back the learned men who sought to leave the province, and to draw in with both hands those who approached it, might recall some histories of the poets under the last O'Neills and Maguires and Desmonds.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 385.

[4] See p. 355. Thus in the poems of Teigue Dall O'Higgin we can observe every event of consequence in Ulster and Connacht for over 60 years, 1554-1617.

and Scotland, so the chiefs when they entertained men of learning boasted of a hospitality to the whole undivided race of the Gaels and of the foreigners adopted into their fellowship. It was a tradition among the greater chiefs, or those who sought a commanding leadership, to gather together the learned men of the whole country in national festivals of all Ireland—"a mound of grand convention."[1] For example William O'Kelly, lord of Hy Many,[2] patron of the O'Duigennans, extolled as the man of greatest character, worth, and renown of his own tribe, invited all Irish poets, brehons, bards, 1351.
harpers, with the gamesters and jesters, the learned, the travellers, and the poor to his house for Christmas, where all, noble and ignoble, were served to their satisfaction, so that they were all thankful to him and sang songs to his praise—"the Poets of Erin to one House." Neill O'Neill, as we have seen, gathered all the 1375-97
scholars of Ireland to the mighty rath of "smooth delightful Emain,"[3] where the knights of the Red Branch had feasted, where on a mild May morning the guardian angel of an Irish poet descended to show him the gathering of the horsemen of the north, the east, the south, whitening the plain with their dust and making it glow with their rich pennons, and from the

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 457. [2] 4 M. p. 601.
[3] Ir. Texte, ii. 2, p. 113.

west the weaponless Tuatha dé Danann, with the poet's wand in each man's hand.[1] Twice Margaret or Maréague, daughter of O'Carroll, wife of the warrior Calvagh O'Conor of Offaly, called the learned of the whole island about her. It
1434. was in a year of famine,[2] "the summer of slight acquaintance" because no one used to recognise friend or relative in consequence of the greatness of the famine, that Margaret gave two general invitations to the Colleges and professional men. "All persons, Irish and Scottish or rather Albans"; were invited "in the dark days of the year on the feast-day of Da Sinchell" (March 26) to a festival at Killeigh in the "field of the long ridge," in the great plain of Offaly: "as it is recorded in a Roll to that effect, and the account was made thus, that the chief kins of each family of the learned Irish was by Gillana-naemh MacEgan's hand, the Chief Judge to O'Conor, written in the Roll, and his adherents and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number of 2700 was listed in the Roll with the arts of *dán* or poetry, music, and antiquity. And Maelin O'Mulconry, one of the chief learned of Connacht, was the first written in that Roll, and first payed and dietted or set to supper. . . . And Margaret on the garrets of the great

[1] O'Grady, 405.

[2] 4 M. pp. 897, 953-5, 973; cf. MacFirbis' "Annals of Irel., Three Fragments": ed. O'Donovan, p. 64, n. u; and for a queen's gifts, p. 73.

church of Da Sinchell clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her, her clergy and judges too. Calvagh himself on horseback by the church's outward side, to the end that all things might be done orderly and each one served successively. And first of all she gave two chalices of gold as offerings that day on the altar to God Almighty, and she also caused to nurse or foster two young orphans. But so it was we never saw nor heard neither the like of that day nor comparable to its glory and solace. . . . And so we have been informed that that second day in Rathangen (on the feast day of the Assumption in harvest) was nothing inferior to the first day. And she was the only woman that has made most of preparing highways and erecting bridges, churches, and mass-books, and all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soul, and not that only, but while the world stands her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered. God's blessing, the blessing of all saints, and every our blessing from Jerusalem to Inis Gluair be on her going to heaven, and blessed be he that will read and hear this for blessing her soul." Great were the lamentations for her 1451.
death, when "the glory and solace of the Irish was set," in "an ungracious and inglorious year to all the learned in Ireland . . . and to all manner and sorts of the poor."

These national festivals lasted on till the Tudor
d. 1458. plantations in Ireland. Tomaltagh MacDermot, lord of Moylurg, was the "general patron of the
d. 1482. learned of Ireland";[1] Con O'Neill the "general patron of the literati of Ireland and Scotland."[2]
1531. MacCarthy Reagh lord of Hy-Carbery was "a man who had given a general invitation of hospitality to all those in Ireland who sought gifts."[3]
1540. Rory MacDermot and his wife, daughter of Mac-William of Clanrickard, were said to have made of their Rock of Lough Cé the Oxford of the province of Connacht: there the schools of Ireland flocked to them, "and they were all attended to
1570-80. by that couple."[4] The house of Sheela Mac-William Burke "was the resort of bards from the Liffey side, of the Dalcassians' choice poets, of the schoolmen from near Barnasmore, of tale-reciters and of minstrels out of every airt in Ireland."[5] So again "all Ireland's professors" obeyed the
1577. summons of Turlough O'Neill[6] to the house he had spent ten years building near Coleraine at the Creeve, where all his glory was spread out before them to tempt a song acclaiming him as the O'Neill. But there was silence amid that dazzling glitter and the lavish pouring of wine as surf might beat upon a shore—for no bard would shape the unrighteous song against great Hugh of Tyrone, and Turlough striding among

[1] 4 M. p. 1001. [2] 4 M. p. 1119. [3] 4 M. p. 1403.
[4] Ib. p. 1459; *v.* app. [5] O'Grady, Cat. 404. [6] Ib. 433.

them with eyes on the ground scornfully announced that they might take their fees for all the poems they had brought, but would neither hear one of those indifferent lays, nor look on the stubborn poets.

A poem of Teigue Dall O'Higgin brings us into one of the last gatherings; on the eve of the great ruin, doomed themselves to destruction, they met, the chief poets of Ulster and Connacht, at the house of Maelmora MacSweeny—a house d. 1581 lime-white and fair. "One night I came to *Eas caoille*—to the Judgement's day I shall think of it—our visit to that dwelling shall (in memory) abide for ever: the manner of the night and what were each one's doings there. The like of those men that in the rath perfected with freshest hue I found awaiting me—ranged along the walls of the be-crimsoned mansion—before themselves no eye had ever seen." Midway down one side of the hall hung with red Maelmora sat, and among the great concourse of bards there sat by him the poet-in-chief of Turlough O'Neill, of MacWilliam Burke, of Clanrickard. They stood up from beside the host and pledged him in ale quaffed "from golden goblets and from beakers of horn"; and before they slept Teigue told his story "for a price" and took his gifts of honour—from Maelmora a dappled horse, one of the best in Ireland; from O'Neill's bard a wolfdog that might be matched against any; from him of Clanrickard a little book that was "a well brimful of the very stream of

knowledge . . . it was the flower of Ireland's royal-books"; and from the bard of MacWilliam Burke his harp—"harp of the minstrel in chief of the Burke's blood—and there it is as good as ever, but he that gave it is not there."

The songs of peace were ended. Captain Malby of Connacht procured Maelmora to be slain by Scot mercenaries, ("and when he fell generosity perished with him"). "But few survive of the beloved company which there before me I found in the white rath: as for the deaths of four that were in it, Ireland never looked to have recovered from the loss."[1] It was the song of Teigue's great lamentation.

By these open festivals a chief won his titles of honour—"a mound of grand convention," "a strand along which there is a general right of way," "the causeway of the learned of Erin."[2] The meetings served in times of danger and affliction as the parliaments, the centres of political discussion, of the country-side. There were met the lawyers and historians and poets. They advised caution in times of danger, and counselled hardy training for a life of difficulty.[3] They discussed the offers of the English government, and the bard "as poetic Art's vice-gerent" forbade the chief to take a foreign title in his own country—"best to reject the foreign designation

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 423; Hyde, Lit. Hist. 520.
[2] O'Grady, Cat. 457; Tribes of Hy-Fiachrach, 229.
[3] O'Grady, Cat. 437, 459.

ere thou and thy patrimony part company";[1] or summoned the time-servers and the faint-hearted, "the easy-going ones that loll on after day-break," to rise up from forgetfulness and no longer hope to claim Ireland in virtue of hunting, or as the price of quaffing goblets.[2] There they sang the love of Ireland. "Benediction westwards from me to Ireland, fair territory of Felim's noble race: nurse of our bringing up is she, and when you have looked at her she is not unlovely. Westwards from Scotland of melodious waterfalls benediction from me go to Ireland: region diversified whose plain ground is smooth, an ancient land like the Land of Promise."[3] They saluted all their land, except traitors to Ireland, and "Meath where too many English are": blessing her rivers and lakes and towns, her young women, her poets and chroniclers, her physicians, clergy, minstrels, the

[1] "Though thou hadst all power over *Flann's* land it were not worth thy while, O thou of gallant aspect, to have an outlandish name pervade good Ireland's whole extent as being thine in thine own country. . . . From this thy change of name we, as poetic Art's vice-gerent, do inhibit thee." Ib. 403. "O my heart's innermost! accept no gift whether of gold or else of horses; but wait until thou take thine own degree according to [the rights of] Niall of old. Thy safe-guarding I confide to God; to Mary's sweet and only Son; that He may shelter thee from Anglo-word [*i.e.* 'punica fides'] of Englishmen, and from the gentiles' act of violence." Ib. 485.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 479, 413. "Some there be here to whom her shame is a source of constant sorrow, while others esteem the desperate state of things to be a thing of naught."

[3] Ib. 385.

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tombs of her dead. And they chanted the deep curses on the plunderer of men tortured, outraged, and exiled: "for ever and for ever by him be abolished their mills, their kilns, the haggarts of their grain. Through Usnagh's precincts be the level borders of her stretching plains piled into mountains: so that beside Teffia a man shall no more find so much as the bare trace of four cross-roads."[1] There the poets of the affliction pleaded that united Irishmen should stand for the tradition of their fathers.[2] They called the people to rally to a single leader.[3] In the sorrow of each territory they, whose outlook was over Ireland, saw the calamity of all, and as the circle of ruin closed round their country, they pleaded with the host of the Gaels to defend the land of Ireland against the Galls that tore it asunder; or cried to them to destroy dissension in mutual succour—"anything that would tend to bring you down (the very thing that your foe-men lust for) do ye no such," said Hugh of Emania, "but consider your consanguinity of birth."[4]

It was indeed from the work of scholars and poets among the whole people, Irish and Anglo-Irish, that through all calamities the nation drew its life. The quarrels and rivalries of Irish tribes have been readily noted: there remains for the

[1] Ib. 415.
[2] Z.C.P. ii. 334-345.
[3] O'Grady, Cat. 408.
[4] Ib. 355; *v.* app.

student the more serious and important work of tracing their causes and extent, of recording the forces that drew the people together, and how that natural fusion was violently thwarted. The fact is certain that beyond all tribal disputes and provincial struggles the Irish recognised their country to be comprehended in one Law, one Literature, one History, one proud tradition of civilisation. This belief was to prove the most powerful national influence in Ireland. The Tudor princes knew and feared the danger. It was under Henry VIII. that Teige O'Coffey, "chief preceptor of Ireland and Scotland" "was 1546. taken prisoner by the English and confined for eighteen weeks in the king's castle for his attachment to the Irish. It was intended that he should be put to death, but he escaped safe from them at length."[1] Edward VI. commanded that no poet or any person should make any poems 1549. or anything which is called *auran* to any person except to the King, on pain of losing all his goods and imprisonment at the king's pleasure.[2] But it was with Mary and Elizabeth that the great national conflict was definitely opened. There was a day when the lord deputy Sussex, 1558. with an army of 1200 soldiers, cast the rightful heir of the O'Briens out of Limerick and by the will of the infamous Donough carried his son Conor to the great church founded, it was said,

[1] 4 M. p. 1499. [2] Car. i. 214.

by his ancestor before ever an Englishman was in Ireland. There in English fashion he was proclaimed ruler, and after High Mass was sworn with his freeholders on the Sacrament and all the relics to forsake the name of O'Brien and be loyal to the English sovereign;[1] and as his reward he was given Bunratty Castle, under an English constable, taken for him by English ordnance. This Conor—sprung of "a junior branch who had wrested the government of his principality from the hands of his seniors, according to the laws, regulations, and ordinances of the sovereign of England"—was the first of the race of Cas to rule the heritage of the O'Briens by a purely English title, without the choice of his people[2] or inauguration by the ancient national law. It was the first clear signal that in Irish Ireland, where there was not as much as one man of English blood, the ancient custom and law of the Irish was to be abrogated and replaced by a foreign code. Poets and chroniclers gave warning of the great catastrophe. The Irish "were seized with horror, dread, fear, and the apprehension of danger; and the descendants of Con and of Cathaoir, the descendants of Heremon and Heber, of Ir and Ith, were alarmed at the change." Henceforth England had to deal with the soul of a people in Ireland.

[1] Car. i. 274, 276-7, 368.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 389; 4 M. p. 1563, 1725.

AN IRISH POEM.

The following is a literal translation kindly given me by Dr. Douglas Hyde from a unique Irish manuscript belonging to him. (Cf. Literary History, p. 526.) It will be seen how closely the writer followed the events of his time over the whole extent of Ireland. The poem seems to have been written before 1551. It may have been for some such call to the Irish that Teige O'Coffey was imprisoned in 1546.

Fooboon upon ye, O hosts of the Gael,
Not one more of you survives,
Foreigners dividing your territory,[1]
Your similitude is to a Fairy (*i.e.* unsubstantial) Host.

The Clan Carthy[2] of Leath Mhogha (*i.e.* southern Ireland)
And to nick them out, down to one man,
There is not, and pitiful is the reproach,
One single one of them imitating the Gaels.

The race of the O'Briens of Banba under Morrough,[3]
Their covenant is with the King of England,
They have turned, and sad is the deed,
Their back to the inheritance of their fathers.

[1] The long-proposed extirpation of the Irish to plant with a better race had begun with the first great confiscation, the seizing of Kildare's estates 1535, and was continued in the division of Leix and Offaly.

[2] a. 1550. Then also to Lord deputy Sentleger "crept MacCarthy, that had lately roved and denied his obedience, with a halter about his neck and got his pardon." Camp. cap. x.

[3] Murrough O'Brien (1540-1551) had seen the mighty bridge and castles on the Shannon levelled "hand-smooth" by

The ancient descendants of great Brian son of Eochaidh[1]
A race who never bought their meals[2]
They are all doing knee-homage,
Those hosts of the Province of Connacht.

The Province of Leinster of the great deeds,[3]
That to warrior-hood was ever a (shining) candle,
They would not get from the King of England
For Ireland a respite from misery.

English armies, and the lands beyond the Shannon cut off. There was no more to be a "great O'Brien" ruling over the whole ancient territory. By submission he received a pardon for his country (1542) and an English earldom. The diminished territory was allotted by the English to his son the double-dyed traitor Donough the Fat, who had led the English by secret paths to the bridge, and had taken bribes to betray Silken Thomas, and the young Earl of Kildare. Together they stood in Greenwich, (1543) Murrough to be made earl of Thomond, Donough baron of Ibracken. Donough (1551-3) illegally forced his son Conor on the people to be nominated and installed by English law (1558) and upheld by English arms against the resistance of all Thomond and the O'Brien land beyond the Shannon.

[1] *I.e.* the tribes of Connacht, O'Conors, O'Rourkes, etc. In Connacht the illegitimate Ulick Burke had been made earl of Clanrickard (1542), and at his death (1544) a young son, said to be illegitimate, was forced on the country by the English troops, and insolently reminded by the officials of "whence he was derived" and "not to have a great idea of his own power but to consider well that it dependeth wholly on the king." He was upheld over the Connacht chiefs (1551) by the hangings and quarterings of the English provost-marshal, and was forced (1553) to surrender Roscommon to the English armies.

[2] *I.e.* they once took by force from their enemies.

[3] The policy of making Leix and Offaly vacant and waste and exiling the inhabitants was laid down in 1537, and the "perfect reformation" of Leinster taken in hand 1542. O'Conor and O'More were in the Town in 1548. "Woodkerne" was a name now invented for the hunted outlaws, as a

O'Neill of Aileach and of Emania,[1]
King of Tara and of Tailltean,
They have given for the earldom of Ulster
Their kingdom submissively and unwisely.

But O'Carroll of the plain of Birr[2]
It is my due to make oath of it,
There is not one man of them in the shape of a man
In Ireland at this time.

sort of wild-beast for the chase: "More wood-kerne were slain that day than the oldest man in Ireland ever saw." The territory was confiscated 1553-1557.

MacGilpatrick of Ossory was forced to surrender his son, "a goodly child," to the king "the more to show his obedience," and was made English baron of Upper Ossory, 1541-2.

Ormond's lands and forts were coveted by the king: after a feast in Ely House in London the Earl lay dead of poison with seventeen of his household (1546).

[1] a. 1542. Con O'Neill, claiming to be earl of Ulster, was made earl of Tyrone, on condition of renouncing his Irish title and authority. O'Neill and O'Donnell, (reported Sentleger in 1543) "had in fact all the captains of the north hanging on their sleeves. We have clearly discharged them of any rule over such captains." He was forced (1551) to go out to war with the deputy against his son Shane O'Neill, in defence of the baron of Dungannon heir to the title by English choice. Suspected of favouring Shane he was "trained from place to place and so at last to Dublin," where protesting his innocence and faithful service he was thrown into prison. "Were he not so old," the deputy told him, "and such one as did no service in his years ill-spent, he would have off his head and see his blood poured in a basin or saucer."

[2] a. 1548. O'Carroll in dread of the fate of O'Conor thrown into the Tower hesitated to obey the deputy's summons to Dublin. It was better, Bellingham warned him sharply, to come late than not at all. On which O'Carroll "went to Dublin to the great court, and was taken by treachery and imprisoned in the king's castle: nor was any one suffered to know why he was in prison or how much would be demanded for his life."

O'Donnell of Ath-seannagh[1]
Who never refused combat or hardship,
(To Ireland great is the misery)
He has failed, Manus O'Donnell!

Fooboon on the foreign-grey gun![2]
Fooboon for the yellow chain![3]
Fooboon for the Court without any English![4]
Fooboon for Shane (?) O Son of Mary!

[1] a. 1542. Manus O'Donnell sunk into dependence on English protection, gave two of his sons in pledge, allowed the king's bailiff to collect trading dues in Sligo, paid tribute of his fish and his herds, repaired (1543) to the great council at Dublin with his captive relatives to take orders from the lord justice as to freeing them, and accepted English captains (1544) and ordnance to help him in war on his own house. In 1555 he was imprisoned by his son Calvagh.

[2] Lord Deputy Skeffington "the Gunner" had (1535) brought "great guns" against Kildare's castle of Maynooth and battered it down in ten days. Irish strongholds had not been built to withstand the new ordnance, and their defences were one after another shattered; so that Con O'Neill left his curse to any who at that time made buildings in Ulster, saying that in building they should do but as the crow doth, make her nest to be beaten out by the hawk. Defence had now to be in the woods and mountains.

[3] Con O'Neill was the first to receive (1542) robes of state and a gold chain of £100 as earl of Tyrone kneeling in the queen's closet at Greenwich (his eldest and best son hostage for his coming). The gold chain of submission and bondage to England was given to O'Brien as earl of Thomond, to Burke as Clanrickard, to MacGilpatrick as lord of Upper Ossory, (1542-3). "Your highness may say that none of your noble progenitors might, that ever O'Neill or O'Brien came into England."

[4] Does this mean that the Dublin Council whose work was the destruction of Irish life might henceforth be filled with Irishmen who had become English peers and renegades to their country? Each Province of Ireland had now a great Irish lord sitting in English parliament robes in the conquerors' council to carry out their policy.

Oh ! Nobles of Inis-Seanart (?)
Ungood is your rank being overturned,[1]
O misguided withered host
Say henceforth nothing but Fooboon !

[1] Each peer in return for the yellow chain had to make oath to "forsake and refuse his own name and state," and to hold his land as the queen's "mere gift."

X.

DESTRUCTION OF IRISH LEARNING.

Every Tudor prince knew that the enemy he had most to fear were the leaders of Irish education—lawyers, historians, "their poets or heralds that enchant them in savage manners and sundry other such dregs of barbarism and rebellion."[1] The patriotic faith of the scholars and the learned knew no faltering, their enthusiasm no yielding. It was they, the hereditary guardians of its civilisation, who were the powerful and incorruptible defenders of their country, the animating soul of the national life.[2] Liberty, the officials of Henry VIII. complained, was "the only thing that the wild Irish and the Scots constantly seek after." Edmund Spenser under Elizabeth accused the poets that their songs tended "for the most part to the hurt of the English, and the maintenance of Irish liberty, *they being most desirous thereof.*" The popular

[1] Bacon to Cecil, Works, 1841, ii. 24.

[2] For Teig mac Daire, O'Clery, Teig Dall O'Higgin, O'Hussey and O'Cainti, and the poets of the Irish in their affliction, see Hyde, Lit. Hist. 515-27, 534-7.

confidence in the national loyalty of the bards is shown by the evil fame in tradition of one who was counted a traitor to his class—one O'Daly, "Angus of the Satires," "the Red Bard," suspected of yielding to the agents of Essex or Mountjoy, who thought to incite rebellion or civil strife by the use of his bitter tongue in maddening the chiefs to frenzy: at their c. 1600.
bidding, it is said, he went up and down the island to satirise the Gaelic households in their humiliation and ruin after the long wars: to hold up to the contempt of the people their empty households and stinted boards, their bad wines, their poverty and decrepitude. In that journey of outrage on the desolate he found his merited death.[1] But his message shows how highly Elizabeth and her deputies estimated the power of an Irish bard, and the enchantments of "the metaphors and flights of those poetic Madmen."[2]

Side by side with the bards stood the chroniclers and brehons, their teaching of history 1558.
and law forming the very substance of the poet's national song. In the great war of the English and Irish peoples that filled the sixteenth century feudal law and tribal law were face to face. Both alike have now utterly passed away, and looking back we can see that

[1] Hyde, Lit. Hist. Irel. 476-7; O'Grady, Cat. 443.

[2] Ware's Writers, 106.

each social system had its benefits, and each its wrongs. But in those days it was inconceivable to an Englishman that his own system was not eternal, or that any other method than the English of holding land and paying taxes was not of savage or diabolical invention. The Tudor landlords were a high-handed people; robbers of the monastic lands, robbers of the commons of the poor in England, robbers now of the Irish tribe-lands, they could not tolerate within the king's dominions a tenure that recognised a right of property in the people, or loosened their grip on the peasant. Fresh keenness was given to the natural instinct of social antipathy by the fact that the Irish system of taxes diverted to the chiefs the wealth coveted for the royal exchequer; that the Irish land tenure barred the way to confiscations and the seizing of wards and dowers; and that any national law that knit together the Irish people into one community was dangerous to English conquest. Apart therefore from any knowledge of the principles or practice of Irish jurisprudence, the Englishman declared it "hateful to God" and so made an end of the matter—"the wicked and damnable law called Brehon law," they said, "which by reason ought not to be named a law but an evil custom."[1] Barbarism or "degeneracy" in their speech simply meant

[1] St. Kilk. Tr. Rel. to Irel. p. 16.

a different way of paying rent and taxes from the English.

The schools in Ireland rose into great activity with the revival of national life and the growth of commerce that marked the fifteenth century. While the English were proposing to brush away in contemptuous fashion all Irish custom as a vain and damnable barbarism from which the people would rejoice to be freed, the Irish schools were hard at work teaching and transcribing their ancient laws. It is the toilers of that time who have preserved for us whatever of Irish tradition and literature has survived. Schools kept by teachers such as the O'Mulconrys were chiefly maintained for history and poetry, but they transcribed not only the great epics of the past, the lives of saints, the records of the kings, the songs of the long line of mediaeval poets, but wrote also the Brehon laws with the tracts and commentaries, the boundaries of tribes, the order of their government, the rights and duties of the various classes. Each generation gathered carefully the scattered leaves saved from the last. They copied endlessly; they learned by heart in the schools thousands of pieces. "I saw a great number of thick volumes of Irish laws," wrote 1660.
Lynch, "with the text written in large characters, and a large space between the lines, to admit more conveniently in smaller letters a glossary

on the meaning of the words. The page was covered over with copious commentaries."[1] Forty
c. 1700. years later Thady O'Rody, an excellent scholar, could show several volumes of the Irish laws, not one of which has escaped destruction.[2] Law and history, and a surprising amount of fragmentary literature was carried down to the eighteenth century. We owe in fact our knowledge of the past to whatever now remains of the copies of these devoted students, whose work unhappily lies in great measure neglected, unedited, uncatalogued.

Besides the old country schools where students lived together and were trained on the traditional lines, there had long been grammar-schools in the towns of a more modern type. These were now rising to great importance as the boroughs, with their increasing wealth and commerce, became the natural centres of culture for the neighbouring Irish gentry. While officials and
1537-93. bishops in Dublin were wrangling for some sixty years as to whether they should allow a school of learning there, and where they could filch the funds, every Irish town had set up its local college whose class-rooms were thronged by the sons of the surrounding chiefs and freeholders.[3]
1540. In Dublin a common school-house was leased to a merchant to repair and maintain, and it was

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 375. [2] O'Reilly's Cat. viii.; *v.* app.
[3] *v.* p. 175, and app.

proposed to use some of the funds of Christ- 1542.
church, "that one may be schoolmaster which will much please the citizens that have no school now here."[1] The citizens however objected to any meddling with Christchurch, and so remained 1562.
without any public school, till £20 was voted for a learned schoolmaster,[2] and a grammar-school apparently set up. They had teachers of whom we know nothing more than the names: "Macgrane a schoolmaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and c. 1550
sundry ballads";[3] Travers a schoolmaster in 1566.
Dublin;[4] Patrick Cusack educated at Oxford whose "admirable learning gave great light to 1569.
his country":[5] one of his pupils was "James King, born in Dublin and scholar to M. Patrick Cusack, under whom being commendably trained, he repaired to the university of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attain to that ripeness of learning whereto one of so pregnant 1586.
a wit was like in time to aspire."[6] One Stafford was "a careful school-master," and after him Michael 1599.
Fitz-Simon, "a proper student and a diligent man in his profession,"[7] one of a wealthy family that lived in Dublin with much credit of learning.

But the great schools were in the Irish countries. There, in Kilkenny, Galway, Limerick,

[1] Cal. Dub. Rec. i. 409; St. P. III. iii. 415, 468, 490.

[2] Cal. Rec. Dub. ii. 16, 24; one or two other efforts are mentioned, 69, 120, 177, 201.

[3] Hol. vi. 61. [4] Ib. vi. 65. [5] Ware's Writers, 95.

[6] Hol. vi. 61. [7] Ware's Writers, 100; Hol. vi. 60; *v.* app.

Waterford, Wexford, Irish scholars were trained
1660. to a wide and exact erudition in their own tongue, "that Irish language which all of us to this day drink in on our mothers' breasts," and learned along with it Latin and English: "except the inhabitants of Dublin, Drogheda, and Wexford, and their immediate vicinities, the only knowledge we have of English is what we learn in schools."[1]

d. 1539. Red Piers of Ormond was a pioneer in the new education. He founded a school in Kilkenny, "out of which school have sprouted such proper imps through the painful diligence and the laboursome industry of that famous lettered man Peter White,"[2] wrote Richard Stanihurst, one of
c. 1560. his scholars, "as generally the whole weale public of Ireland, and especially the southern parts of that island, are greatly thereby furthered . . . in the realm of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England I am well assured none better. . . . And certes I acknowledge myself so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous school." . . . This gentleman's method in training up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholar's vein. The free he would bridle and spur forward the dull, if he understood that he were the worse for beating

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 191. [2] Hol. vi. 34, 66; *v.* app.

he would win him with rewards, and by interlacing study with recreation and roughness with mildness, he had so good success in schooling his pupils as to earn the name of 'the lucky schoolmaster of Munster.'

There was already a school at Waterford (probably the same as the later free-school in Christ-church yard)[1] where the scholars were as 1550.
numerous as poor, and apparently made their own candles, since the town ordered that no freeman 1518.
nor foreigner shall sell no wax to scholars.[2] There the heir of the O'Sullivan territory was sent to learn English,[3] and for generations the children of the Irish gentry round came to be fostered or boarded with the merchants,[4] their cousins and friends, doubtless to be put to school and to trade. One Fagan, bachelor of arts in Oxford, was schoolmaster there.[5] Peter White, himself a Waterford man, educated at Oxford and a Fellow of Oriel, being called to his native town as dean, and then 1566.
ejected from the deanery for his religion, continued to teach school there,[6] beloved by all the Irish, "a man very well learned . . . by whose

[1] Smith's Waterford, 189. [2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 327.

[3] C.S.P. 1587, 342, 344. [4] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 307.

[5] Hol. vi. 59. The houses that gave mayors and bailiffs to the town gave to it also its great schoolmasters and scholars of genius—Devereux, White, Lombard, Fagan, Quemerford. The liberal training and national character of the school, where "the antiquities of Ireland" were known, may be seen in the history of the leading Waterford men of the XVII. century

[6] Ware's Writers, 95.

industry and travail a great part of the youth of his country and of the country of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education."[1] In forty years of devoted labours till near the end of the century he sent out a long line of brave patriots, learned scholars, and eminent divines. One of his most famous pupils, Peter Lombard, born in Waterford, of a leading merchant family, went thence to study philosophy at Louvain, and "when he proceeded master of art there was chosen *Primus universitatis* by the uniform consent of the four principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise in many years before."[2]

There was such another school at Wexford: "Deurox, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometime schoolmaster in Wexford."[3] So also Father Robert Rocheford, "a proper divine, an exact philosopher and a very good antiquary."[4] Cork had a schoolmaster, Owen MacRedmond, who had apparently travelled: "this fellow said that it was not known who was king of England, for that to his knowledge about seven or eight years before there was no other mockery in all the stage plays but the king of Scots": [5] with much other news gathered of king
1603. James and of the king of France which brought

[1] Ib. 95-6. [2] Hol. vi. 61.

[3] Hol. vi. 59. The Devereux were one of the governing families in Waterford.

[4] Ib. 64. [5] Tuckey's Cork, 73, 78

him at last to his death. The Irish gentlemen of Galway and Clare flocked to Limerick. There the distinguished bishop Leverous taught after 1565. Elizabeth turned him out of the see of Kildare—he who had been tutor to the sons of Silken Thomas, who had hidden the young Gerald (child heir of the FitzGeralds, then lying at his house ill of small-pox) in a "cleefe" and carried him safe from the massacre—who, wrote Croft, "for learning, discretion, and in outward appearance for good living, is the meetest man in this realm, and best able to preach both in the English and the Irish tongue. . . . I heard him preach such a sermon as in my simple opinion I heard not in many years."[1] Irish scholars from all the country round gathered to him, and to Richard Creagh, son of a Limerick merchant, scholar of the Emperor Charles v. for seven or eight years on the Continent and of other good outland men,[2] who returned from Louvain to teach in his own city.[3] The Englishman Good set up 1566. school too,[4] whose bitter temper and slanders against the Irish can scarcely have made him acceptable or successful. Limerick became the refuge for students for the next thirty years: "I saw," wrote an Englishman, "a grammar school in Limerick, one hundred and three score scholars, most of them speaking good and perfect

[1] Shirley, Orig. Let. 62. [2] Shirley, Orig. Let. 170, 178, 287.
[3] Ware, Writers of Irel. 97. [4] Cam. Ev. ii. 153.

English, for that they have used to construe the Latin into English."[1]

But of all the schools none was so renowned as the free school founded at Galway by Dominick
1566. Lynch.[2] There Alexander Lynch gathered 1200 scholars from all parts of Ireland, and laid the foundations of a great school of classical and Irish learning; and there his son Dr. John Lynch, the famous apologist of the Irish, got the begin-
b. 1599. nings of his erudition, and with his two chief friends and fellow-students, Duald MacFirbis "the most learned antiquary of any age," and Roderick O'Flaherty, made "a secure anchorage" for Irish history. Another master, James Lynch, gave "long, painful, and profitable service . . . in the
1607-38. training and breeding of the children of the members of this Corporation for the space of thirty years and upwards in good literature and sciences liberal"; and in his declining years was given a recompense of an annuity of £10.[3] The fame of the great students of Galway, their labours and their erudition, made it the intellectual capital of the island, and from far and near Irishmen came, even begging their way, to share in its learning.[4] Galway in fact was fast rising

[1] Desc. of Irel. 1590, Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841.

[2] C.S.P. 1566, 302; *v.* app.

[3] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 480, 486.

[4] Camb. Ev. I. v.; O'Flaherty, West Conn. 420-6. "In the ancient school and college of St. Nicholas there, many learned men were educated. Here, MacFirbis, O'Flaherty, Lynch,

to the position of a national University. The English must have seen in it a great danger, for in the school Irish and Latin were the languages commonly used, and English was taught as a foreign tongue; so that one of its chief scholars, O'Flaherty, was a greater master of Latin than of English. The powerful influence of Galway as a centre of the higher learning may have stimulated the lagging zeal of the English to found an orthodox university in Dublin; and presently to ensure its monopoly by the utter destruction of the Irish school.

The long roll of writers that distinguished Ireland in the end of the sixteenth century, and on to 1648, shows the effect produced by these town schools, and how ably the Irish youths were trained for the foreign universities to which they were forced to go for their degrees—men such as Hugh MacCaghwell,[1] reckoned a man of great learning, of singular piety and humility, as well as one of the greatest among the school-men of his time. We can see moreover, from the place that Irish learning took in their studies, the national character of the schools. Bonaventura b. 1571.

Francis Browne, Patrick Darcy the celebrated lawyer, Sir Richard Blake, Dr. Kirwan, R.C. Bishop of Killala, Edmund de Burgo, Peter French, John O'Heyne, and other persons of distinction frequently assembled. And here were planned and partly executed, some of those learned works which have ever since ranked among the valuable on Irish history." Ib. 421; *v.* app.

[1] Ware's Writers, 103.

O'Hussey, born in Ulster of the ancient family of poets, still preserved the tradition of his
c. 1600. house when he was lecturer in Louvain, and was in great esteem with his countrymen for his singular skill in the history and language of Ireland.[1] Stephen White of Waterford, the Jesuit who wrote to confute *Giraldus Cambrensis*, was "a man," according to archbishop Ussher, "of exquisite knowledge in the antiquities not only of Ireland but of other nations."[2]

At the time therefore when the Tudor attack on learning definitely opened, Ireland was full of intellectual activity, adding European knowledge to Irish lore, founding schools of modern study in addition to the old, and creating the beginnings of an Irish university. While the country schools were multiplying their translations and manuscripts, while the chiefs' sons were studying under the learned teachers of Waterford and Limerick, while the Catholic Irish shut out from Trinity were begging their way to the classes at Galway, Bacon called on the Earl of Essex to march with con-

[1] Ware's Writers, 102; O'Grady, Cat. 407.

[2] Ware's Writers, 103. Among the names of scholars, these are some of the writers who occupied themselves with Irish history—Thady Dowling, Thomas Russell, John Wading a secular priest of Wexford, David Rothe, Henry FitzSimons, Connell MacGeoghegan, Geoffrey Keating, Donat Mooney, Peter Lombard, Florence MacCarthy, Thomas Messingham, Philip O'Sullivan, Michael Cantwell, Hugh Ward, Patrick Fleming, Michael O'Clery, Bonaventura Hussey, Stephen White, Duald MacFirbis, Dr. John Lynch, Roderick O'Flaherty. *v.* Cam. Ev. i. 95, 97.

fidence to war on the Irish people, "the goodness and justice of which is hardly to be matched in any example; it being . . . a recovery of them not only to obedience but to humanity and policy *from more than Indian barbarism.*" [1] 1599.

For the more vigorous and progressive was Irish culture the more necessary was it for the conquerors to root it out. Learning like commerce must come to the "subject" race only by English hands and at their sole discretion, and freedom of education was considered as dangerous as freedom of trade. The same precautions were therefore taken against education as against industries. The paralysing of intellectual vivacity, the prevention of its growth, and the denial of its existence, remained among the accredited means of governing Ireland.

The "spoiling of the rhymers" [2] began under Henry VIII., Robert Cowley "the plovertaker" urging that thus the ruin of the Kildares could be finally completed. "Harpers, rhymers, Irish chroniclers, bards, and ishallyn commonly go with praises to gentlemen in the English Pale, praising in rhymes otherwise called *danes* their extortioners, robberies, and abuses as valiantness, which rejoiceth them in that their evil doings, and *procure a talent of Irish disposition and conversation* in them, which is likewise convenient to be expelled." [3] 1537.

[1] Bacon to Essex, Works, 1841, ii. p. 17.

[2] C.S.P. 1538, 42. [3] Car. ii. xxix n.; St. Pap. II. iii. 450.

So far as the power of the deputy and the council went, poets should no longer sing the fame of great men and the history of Ireland:
1537. they should not "be suffered to come among the English men; for by their Irish gifts and minstrelsy *they provoketh the people to an Irish order.*"[1] The imprisonment of Teige O'Coffey the Chief Preceptor of the poets, opened the final war. Bards, rhymers, and common idle-men and women[2]
1546. making rhymes, were to be spoiled of their goods and put in the next stocks. "Barbarous marauders in many places vent their vandal fury on every harp which they meet, and break it in pieces."[3]

There was one instance where an Irish ruler clinging to English protection did Englishmen's work in the destruction of the bards. Conor O'Brien, son of the traitor Donough the Fat, had taken a title to rule from the English king alone: no bard or chronicler could have allowed his claim. So this O'Brien for his better safety
1572. *hanged* a MacWard and an O'Clery, "being skilled men in history and poetry." A poem of good counsel was dedicated to his son Donough
1580. on his succession as fourth Earl of Thomond, by Teigue MacDary (MacBrody), "probably the last survivor in Thomond if not in Ireland of the professional poets duly qualified in the orthodox bardic schools of the sixteenth century."[4]

[1] St. Pap. II. iii. 508.
[2] Car. i. 410.
[3] Camb. Ev. i. 317.
[4] O'Grady, Cat. 388-9.

Like his father and grandfather this Donough, a harrier of his own race and kind, had taken service under the English against his people. He was no rewarder of bards, and Teigue's son, the head of the race, was seen wandering in ignominy through the land, without house or horse, or cart or chariot, and with no garment worth more than ten florins. But Earl Donough in taking English pay had entered on a thankless service. He finished the work of Donough the Fat and assisted at the ruin of the principality of Thomond. It was his sole reward, and the glory of the O'Briens and the race of the old Irish poets were extinguished together.

The extirpation of Irish law proved more difficult, slower, more costly, than the imperialists had reckoned. To English officials chroniclers and brehons remained "vain poets and ploratores of Irish histories,"[1] slaves to their chiefs, or greedy of reward, dealing in a law that no one could understand save those brought up in barbarous schools of the Irish language. The "Irish tyranny" that they taught was "tied to no rules of law or honour."[2] "The brehon sitteth on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed,"[3] Stanihurst wrote, who could not have understood a word of the discussions, nor why their open-air sittings were held in the high

[1] Car. i. 206. [2] Davies, D. 1787, 116. [3] Hol. vi. 68.

presence of the sun and the earth and the powers of Nature. Sir John Davies after living a brief six years in Ireland, amid the overwhelming ruin of a fifty years' war, unable to speak to any Irishman in his own language, profoundly ignorant of their legal system, among others of his natural errors dismissed the Irish "talk of a freehold and of estates of inheritance"[1] as a sort of parrot trick of repetition, or one caught up for uses of guile from their civilized neighbours. Hugh of Tyrone, expert in English and Irish law, bluntly expressed his view of the attorney-general—"a man more fit to be a stage player than counsel to his Highness."[2]

On the other hand the brehon schools were strong in their hold on the country. Governors found themselves again and again forced to acknowledge the Irish code.[3] On such an occasion President Fyton, indignant at "English
1571. weakness," made the Connacht brehon O'Scingin write for him a Latin note in Irish characters on the law of *Kincogus* to send to Burghley, as evidence of its "mischievous" and "detestable" character[4]—in direct conflict with all his plans of confiscation and partition. A system rooted in the hearts of the people was almost impossible

[1] Davies, D. 1787, 276-80.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 479. Davies was famed for his dancing. See also his poem to James I., and the "Irish harpstrings."

[3] *v.* app.

[4] Fac. Nat. MSS. IV. i. p. xxix.

to obliterate. "The statutes of Kilcas," wrote Lynch seventy years later, "be commonly used in the country by the Lord of Ossory, and by his Irish judge called a Brehon, and by all other freeholders of the country, and *they have none other law but the same*, and divers of the books of the same statutes are in the safe keeping of the sheriff of the shire of Kilkenny, and the bishop of Waterford, and one book is in the possession of Rory MacLoughire, being Judge of the country."[1] As the danger grew so grew the devotion of the people to their ancient constitution. Out of the darkness we hear the cry of Irish scholars persecuted and dauntless. "I am tired," wrote the transcriber of a "Great Digest of the Law," . . . I being this day without *cibus*; and I crave help of God.[2] 1640.

We have a chance picture of a school in the remote hills of Clare at the opening of the great distress—a few glimpses of its work, of the strong hand of discipline of the master, the loyalty of his students, their gaiety and their sufferings, the hunger, the cold, the cares of the farm, the lamentations for lads gone to the war, the calling in of herdsmen to thresh painfully a harvest as painfully gathered.[3]

In "old Burren" Donall O'Davoren, a fine

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 793. [2] O'Gr. Cat. MSS. 146-7; *v.* app.

[3] O'Grady, Cat. 85, 109-141. "The president settled in Connacht with great obedience." C.S.P. 1569, 424.

disciplinarian beloved of his scholars, coaxed or drove them to work amid cold and hunger,
1565-9. want and sorrow.[1] As they copied somewhat untidily important Tracts on Law and Grammar, and ancient Tales, the lads jotted on the margin notes to try whether the pen and ink were good—jokings and jibes, moods "spiritless and gloomy," brief lines in which we can still trace destruction closing round in war and famine. "My writing equipment is bad: a soft spiky pen; foxy thick ink; vellum stony and green, and (into the bargain) grief!" They were not proud of their writing: "this is not worth bragging of, and if it were, so I would." "My gear is bad, and it is not by way of excusing myself [that I say it]." "Oh Donall! how exposed are my hands [to the cold]." "My curse, and God's curse into the bargain, I bestow on the women that have muddled up together all that I possessed in the way of ink, of colours, and of books!" A scholar surveyed his law-work with satisfaction—"I challenge any man to say that in a single point of these there is erroneous law; but for all that 'tis impossible to shut a man's mouth, and God knows 'tis his own head he has on him.'" But study and the writing of law were a bad business for Donall, "oppressed with melancholy," and his starving pupils: "God hinder us both of our

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 85-137.

science!" one prayed. "Donall, pay for the knowledge; and God be your help ye of the School!" "A dinnerless Tuesday is a cold thing, Donall, and immediately before Christmas too." Or again, "Here we are at Shrove-Monday: and in my opinion, James, the water-cresses of starvation-land are hard fare. This, Donall, is supererogatory, considering that we are fasting besides," this being written at Shrove-tide when they had a right to feast. "I am weary with all that I have written and even worse it is that Saorbrethach should be seeking to inveigle that which constitutes a dinner for the cat." Sometimes they mocked at "a pair of dice"—the two little segments of bread dealt out for dinner: at another time, "I am tired on Friday after Ascension day because I am without food: a horrid thing, yet comical." For Donall evidently they bore much. "*Per Deum* I love the man of this book": "This, Donall, from David, and his love accompany all the contents." "There's for you Donall, and more, because I am loth to refuse you!" "and there never was a more accomplished rogue (wheedler or coaxer) than you are." "This is not fair, Donall, you with the dinner all to yourself and I in grief." By degrees war encompassed the writers. "This is the eve of Ladyday in Spring, and I grieve that from the Earl of Ormond's son Donough O'Brien goes

in danger of death. Also I am astonished that Carbry is courting counsel from Conor. The Park is my quarters. (Written by) Manus for Donall, who is himself travelling all over Ireland." "To see whether it serves (*i.e.* his pen and ink). I am . . . and weary. The Eve of S. Matthew's festival is here. The Viceroy in Galway, and going to Dunmore—M'Keorish to take it, and to Roscommon as well. For self and comrades all I crave mercy of God. A.D. 1569." When the farm-boys were called to the war, the scholars took the reaping-hook, and the unskilled cow-boys brought in to thresh had to be dismissed again from the "white flail": "reproach me not," the scribe writes on his copy, "for hard it is to do the one-man-household." "You are well off Donall to be getting in the harvest and I slaving for you." "I and David are sad and anxious on account of my boys"—the lads sent to the Connacht campaign. "If David's news be true," writes one, "I must needs curse, and let the prayer be for the soldiers that are mustering for the fight." "The conflict rages in every district of Medhb's Provinces (*i.e.* Connacht); and I implore the King of both the hither and the yonside world to shield self and comrades with me from all harm both here and hereafter." "Were all Ireland's men," a scholar sought to comfort himself, "to be engaged in rescuing one man only:

he would notwithstanding, and willy nilly, steadily progress to his death's sod"; and soon comes the entry, "This is the Wednesday after the slaughter of my lord Richart's soldiers" (Clanrickard the Sassonagh).

Elizabeth had marked the Irish schools for destruction, town and country, Irish and Anglo-Irish, all alike tainted with patriotism. She appointed commissioners to root them out, destroy their books, scatter masters and pupils, and wipe away their remembrance. One Commission followed another, to suppress "the evil education and instruction of children by schoolmasters in Ireland,"[1] "to enquire of all schoolmasters and public teachers, and their manner of teaching and religion, and to place and displace them as to the commissioners shall be thought meet for the good of the present State."[2] From this time the way of the Irish scholar was marked by outlawry, starvation, and death. Soldiers ravaged the homes once consecrated to learning. Planters seized the termon lands. The teachers were left destitute, flung into poverty.

The leaders of the schools answered with defiance. They carried a brave heart. "To be in threadbare mantles," the poet sang, "is no disgrace to sons of learning: to be somewhat run to decay is not a shame to any so long as his science is progressive."[3] "This soul is

[1] Brady, St. P. 34. [2] C.S.P. 1592, 496. [3] O'Grady, Cat. 482.

slain: I have good cause. Sad is my mind: sad though I tell it not. Everything that we deem evil, that we have had; we have renounced therefore to be melancholy: seeing that not an ill is wanting to us, let us for the rest of the time be jolly."[1] They rejected all compromise, and would acknowledge no law for Ireland but Irish law. Their policy was a firm national union for self-defence, and the true measure of their fidelity and power lies in the virulence of their persecution. Spoiled of their "imperishable patrimony of land," forbidden the poet's protection, condemned to starvation, the rack,[2] and the gibbet, their race was finally exterminated. But their end was with honour. The professors of learning in Ireland refused to betray her cause. Whatever "gifts" they had received from their country they returned in devoted service.

Their fidelity was worthy of their ancient caste and high tradition. A tragic relic of the proud race of the Brehons stood in the extremity of his humiliation before the ruthless planters of Ulster. In the course of their confiscations a question of Maguire's lands in Fermanagh was
1607. referred[3] "unto an old parchment roll, which they called an indenture, remaining in the hands of one O'Bristan, a chronicler and principal brehon of that country: whereupon O'Bristan

[1] O'Gr. Cat. 360. [2] O'Grady, Cat. 385.
[3] Davies, Letter to Salisbury, 1607, D. 1787.

was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, but was so aged and decrepit, as he was scarce able to repair unto us: when he was come, we demanded of him the sight of that ancient roll. . . . The old man seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that in the late rebellion it was burned among other of his papers and books, by certain English soldiers. We were told by some that were present, that this was not true; for they affirmed that they had seen the roll in his hands since the war: thereupon my Lord Chancellor, . . . did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life; and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath, that the roll should be restored unto him again: my Lord Chancellor smiling gave him his word and his hand that he should have the roll redelivered unto him, if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon the old Brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him: it was not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit, some part of the writing

was worn and defaced with time and ill keeping: we caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we perceived how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal, and how many porks, and other such gross duties, did arise unto Maguire out of his mensall lands; the particulars whereof I could have expressed, if I had not lost the translated copy of the roll at Dublin; *but these trifles are not worthy to be presented to your Lordship's knowledge*"—they concerned only the rights of an outlawed people in a plundered land.

The "ill-keeping" of the brehon's parchment shows another danger that hung over Irish learning, when the only safeguard for a manuscript which the old man knew, and that a poor one, was "to bear it continually about him" in his bosom. "Certain it is," wrote Lynch, "that within the recollection of our fathers the English burned with savage rage for the annihilation of our Irish documents."[1] Over all Ireland the work was begun by "Sir Henry Sydney and the preceding governors, who swept away in one heap everything that they could lay their hands on; so that one of their most special instructions, when deputed to govern this island, would appear to have been to annihilate with the most unsparing hand every monument of antiquity in Ireland." Wherever English soldiers were quartered they seized all

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 335-7. Cf. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, I. 46, 59, 68.

Irish manuscripts, which "were distributed to school boys to make covers for their books, or cut up in the tailor's shop to make measures for clothes." The hunting out of writings in times of "peace" or even among Irish allies was a very trade. So complete was the long and ruthless destruction that but a portion of one single volume (the Book of the Dun Cow) survives from the books used at the ancient School of Clonmacnois.[1] Some of the volumes were carried away as antiquarian relics or the prize of conquerors: "if any officers of the government heard of a fragment of manuscript history being in the possession of a private individual, it was at once begged or bought; or if neither money nor entreaty were strong enough, threats and commands immediately followed, which it might cost one's life to resist." "'Far the most active in this trade of hunting out in all quarters, and carrying away or destroying ancient books, especially in the province of Munster, of which he was President, was George Carew, the son of a priest,'[2] afterwards Viscount Totness, and author of the Hibernia Pacata. 'He took from the head of the noble family of the M'Carthies a most ancient manuscript volume.'"

Thus began centuries of havoc, to annihilate one of the oldest traditional literatures of the

[1] *v.* Fac. Nat. MSS.

[2] Camb. Ev. i. 335; Tr. Rel. to Ireland, ii. App. xix. **n.**

West. The Irish language was claimed by the learned of that day to be "one of the original languages of Europe," but Irish speech itself was to disappear. "Forsooth we must gag our jaws in gibbrishing Irish!" cried the colonist, "if it were as sacred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greek, as fluent as the Latin, as amorous as the Italian, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French, yet truly I see not but it may be very well spared in the English Pale":[1] and the Pale was to be the model for all Ireland.

We have seen the advance of English, which had been peacefully spreading among the cultivated Irish students of the fifteenth century. It was cut short by the intolerance and violence of conquerors. The Deputy began to refuse
1548. treaties and negotiations in Latin, in which the chief could have the counsel of his captains and ollaves and clergy, and to insist on secret dealings in a language unknown to them. Chiefs were ordered to send their letters to the government in English so that the friars, the people's friends, should not be able to read them. He would have no Latin, said a governor, "which may be falsely expounded by deceitful friars."[2] "And where you would have answer in Latin," Sentleger ordered O'Carroll, "remember you live under an English King, which requireth in so great a circuit of country as you occupy to have some

[1] Hol. vi. 5-6; *v.* app. [2] C.S.P. 1548, 94.

honest man whom you might trust to write your letters in English, and I likewise trust to expound mine sent unto you."[1] A melancholy begging letter from O'Reilly to Henry[2] shows 1546.
the straits to which the chiefs were put in finding interpreters to spell for them the language of the new and secret diplomacy. Even in the mutual dealings of Irish tribes there was an attempt to force English as the binding language: a treaty between O'Rourke and O'Reilly, framed 1560.
according to old Irish customs, was put into English by an interpreter, as a sign doubtless of their "conquest."[3]

English speech was thus made, not the means of culture or intercourse, but a mere token of subjugation, the emblem of a country turned into an English province. The natural result of this vicious policy was to make the native tongue the symbol of patriotism and honour, and degrade English into the language of traitors. Maguire, fearful of his people, begged that his secret dealings 1562.
with the governor might be written in English, for the better hiding of the unhappy straits to which he had been driven by force.[4] It was for this reason that Con O'Neill laid his curse on any of his posterity that spoke the tongue of the crafty invaders; language, said Con out of a deep experience of his unhappy dealings with officials,

[1] C.S.P. 1548, 93.
[2] St. P. III. iii. 559.
[3] O'Gr. Cat. MSS. 152-3.
[4] C.S.P. 1562, 210; 1579, lv. 170.

bred conversation, and conversation *confusion*.[1] Shane refused as a man of honour to talk it. "One demanded merrily why O'Neill that last was (Shane) would not frame himself to speak English. 'What,' quoth the other in a rage, 'thinkest thou that it standeth with *O'Neill his honour* to writhe his mouth in clattering English?'"[2] There was the same thought in the warning of Blind Teigue O'Daly to Brian O'Rourke that he let not the "English with sweetness of their words entrap": for from making and meddling with the hungry and all-depredating strangers never a single one of Ireland's gentlemen ever yet came whole away unscathed by guile, by treachery. In the day

[1] The feeling of the day is shown in a verse quoted by Lynch.

"Ná déin commaoin re fear Gallda, má nír, ní feirrde dhuit.
Beidh choidhche ar tí do mheallta commaoin an fhir Ghallda riot."

The meaning seems to be "Have no intercourse with an Englishman: if you do, you will not be the better. The intercourse of the Englishman with you will always be on the point of deceiving you." Camb. Ev. iii. 230-1. See also Misc. Celt. Soc., O'Donovan, 367. An English translation of the history of France (1639) tells that when the English ambassador boasted that his countrymen by the purity of their morals were as like angels in nature as in name, king Philip immediately answered

"Anglicus Angelus est, cui nunquam credere fas est,
Cum tibi dicit ave, sicut ab hoste cave."

"An Englishman is an angel in whom it is right never to believe:
When he says to you *ave* 'hail,' *cave* 'beware,' as if from an enemy." Camb. Ev. iii. 230.

[2] Hol. vi. 6.

of Brian's strength "the gentles of the Gael will hold it a dishonour to hear those loud outspoken kindreds' utterance: it will be a wonderment to have the English bandy words with them."[1] What lost story of exile, of passion for learning, of stubborn indignation of the soul, lies behind the brief entry in an Oxford register of Nicholas de Burgo—he who went to Paris to take his degree of B.D. and then turned to Oxford; and was dispensed on Jan. 26, 1524 "because he 1517-24.
is a stranger, and knows no English, and has tutored almost seven years gratis."[2]

The "violent attempts to abolish" Irish which Dr. Lynch saw, he contemptuously likened to the decree of the Carthaginian senate that prohibited all Carthaginians from learning to speak or read the Greek language.[3] In his day there were still men who had been trained in the scientific knowledge of Irish, and could have maintained the tradition of scholarship. "We 1660.
all speak Irish and many of us can read and write English; but some persons, in their riper years, fascinated by the sweetness of their native tongue, turn to read and write Irish.[4] . . . Such however is the elegance of Irish language, that how lightly soever a person sips of it, he is drawn on to acquire a more profound knowledge."[5] But shame and terror of their ancient

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 418-9. [2] Oxf. Reg. 128.
[3] Camb. Ev. i. 183. [4] Camb. Ev. i. 191. [5] Ib. ii. 379.

speech was put into the people's hearts. "I have known many persons who had but a very slight acquaintance with Irish books; still so great was the delight they found in reading them, that they could hardly have ever let them out of their hands, if the reproofs of their parents had not *forced their attention to more profitable studies*,"[1] for Irish was only profitable to death. Unable to read the foreign tongue they spoke painfully "some mere ghost of rugged English."[2] Scholars saw the near ruin of Irish learning. We may measure their despair in the heart-broken words of Dr. Lynch: "the age of a profound knowledge of the Irish language is I fear past for ever, since the hereditary revenues of its professional masters have been taken away."[3] He stood on the edge of that great catastrophe. Nearly all the important literary works of the Irish appeared before 1648. Scholars despised and slandered, hunted, scattered, starving, toiling at their manuscripts in some bogside or shelter in the rocks in face of the printing-presses of Europe, at last laid down their wearied pens in death. The old phrases

[1] Ib. ii. 379; *v.* app.

[2] "Is not this a funny habit that great part of the men of Ireland have adopted—such as newly are puffed up with a most vanitous purse-proud conceit—feeble as is their mastery over the 'codes' ['codices,' books] of a foreign clergy, yet they utter not a sound but some mere ghost of rugged English?" O'Grady, Cat. 522.

[3] Camb. Ev. i. 191. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 123, 171.

of the Annals may rise to the lips of Irishmen. "The benison of erudition and science on their souls." "God's blessing, the blessing of all saints, and every our blessing from Jerusalem to Inis Gluair be on their going to heaven, and blessed be he that will read and hear this for blessing their souls."

In the midst of this ruin Elizabeth had an Irish harper to entertain her with the music forbidden in Ireland, and amused herself with the fancy of adding another language to her Latin and Greek; a Primer of Irish was drawn up for her by Lord Delvin, who used to furnish the Government with translations of Irish writings. Christopher Nugent Lord Delvin succeeded his father as a boy of 14, the ward 1559.
of Sussex,[1] and from his studies at Cambridge 1565.
returned to take up his land in Ireland and marry Mary daughter of Kildare. He was constantly suspected, in spite of his protests that there was nothing in the world whereof he made more account than that his ancestors were never spotted in blood, and that through honourable service to the crown of England he meant
not to deface nor lose. His politic words did 1580.
not prevent his being cast into prison on charge of aiding the rebellion in the Pale, matters "very dark against him."[2] While he consoled himself

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. IV. i. xxxiv.

[2] C.S.P. 1580, 275, 382; 1583, 476.

by composing some celebrated music, he prayed
1583. Burghley to be admitted into her majesty's presence,[1] and sought to ingratiate himself in the queen's favour by his Primer. No evidence for the queen's great affection for Ireland, he wrote in the preface, was greater than her desire to understand the language of the people, her majesty having understood that an interpreter can never carry the grace nor intelligence which the tongue being understood expresseth. Since the queen undertook to learn, not as ordinary men by demanding the significance of the words, but by the letter, she would assuredly surpass
1584. all others. "Proceed therefore, proceed, most gracious sovereign, in your holy intent, that as your majesty hath in exhausting your treasure more than any three of your most noble progenitors showed how far you exceed them in affection touching the reformation of their country, so in this generous act you shall excel them all."[2]

The treasure of Elizabeth, who sent over more men and spent more money to save and reduce the land of Ireland than all her progenitors since the conquest,[3] had bought for her the slaughtered bodies of scores of thousands of the Irish people, the ruin of their trade, the scattering of their schools, and the burning of their books. Lord

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 319 n. [2] Fac. Nat. MSS. IV. i. pp. xxxiv-v.
[3] Davies, 52, D. 1787.

Delvin was released to sit in the parliament of confiscation. Now opened the vast schemes to 1585.
transport such as had any strength among the Irish out of the country,[1] to cut off the remnant from any inheritance in their forefathers' land, and to plant the country new from England with "a better race."

"No more shall any laugh there, or children gambol; music is choked, the Irish language chained; no longer shall chiefs' sons so much as speak whether of the Winefeast or of hearing Mass; gaming is at an end, and all pastime; the improvised panegyric shall not be poured forth, nor tales recited to procure sleep; books will not be looked at, nor genealogies heard attentively."[2]

The town schools, better protected than those of the country and with more powerful patronage, lingered for a while, but they too perished with the ruin of the boroughs. Limerick ceased as a 1590.
place of learning when the Irish scholars fled from it, parents carrying away their children in terror to hide them in the fastnesses of the hills lest they should be seized by English governors as pledges[3] and shipped away to London. Owen MacRedmond, schoolmaster in Cork, was executed 1603

[1] Bacon's Considerations, Works, 1841, ii. 23.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 399.

[3] C.S.P. 1590, 340. Professor Mahaffy states that they feared to be taken pledges by the Spaniards of the Armada—a theory not warranted either by date or by probability. Epoch Ir. Hist. 11.

by martial law, as having no freehold to make
c. 1600. him worth the common law. Peter White had no successor in a Waterford falling into despair and decay. The great school of Galway was suppressed by Ussher. The old Galway Corporation, drawing near its end after long
1627. sufferings, passed a decree reciting that "divers sturdy beggars and young fellows pretending themselves to be scholars do daily in great numbers flock and resort to this town from all parts of the kingdom," which was dangerous to the Corporation, and disabled the inhabitants from providing for "young scholars of the birth of the town who have a desire to study and learn"; all such foreign beggars and pretended scholars being born out of the town and country and not licensed by the mayor were ordered back to their native countries, and if they returned to be whipped out of the town.[1]

So closed the hopes of Irish scholarship in Ireland. No Irishman was allowed to open a public school, or send his children over sea to study, "whence in course of time our people will by necessity be made Protestants"; while the young heirs to lands were brought up in ignorance so that they might not be able to guard their rights to their inheritance.[2] The town schools were seized, or newly endowed, to train the

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. x. App. v. 474.

[2] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 349.

Protestant English settlers, while the mass of the Irish Catholics were left for the next two centuries absolutely illiterate, or with such teaching as the wandering hedge schoolmaster could bring them. A proposal was once made to revive the 1787. statute of Henry VIII. ordering schools in every parish, but nothing was done to carry the scheme into effect. It died under the Hanoverians as it had died under the Tudors.[1] In the higher education the English rulers created a University for their sons—richly endowed out of Irish resources—two hundred years before a small Irish Catholic college with the help of French professors was tolerated in Carlow, or a college at 1793. Maynooth for training priests was allowed to 1795. receive private subscriptions for its support. "The children of the aliens receive a learned

[1] "Parochial schools here (1815), as well as in many other places, are little more than nominal. There are, however, several little schools with Roman Catholic teachers, in which children are instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic. Though among themselves conversation is seldom carried on in any but their native tongue, most of the people speak English, and *seem desirous of having their children educated.*

"Among the many motives for obtaining such advantage, one which is said to be the most cogent, is certainly the least obvious. The substitution of paper money for specie has in this part of the United Kingdom been productive of serious injury, as well as inconvenience to the people, from the prodigious number of forged notes that are every day passed.

"To guard the rising generation against *a fraud which is practised with peculiar facility upon the illiterate*, is said to be a strong reason for sending their children to school.

"How often do advantages arise, when least foreseen and least intended?" Townsend's Survey of Cork (1815), i. 415.

education, which is contraband and penal for ours,"[1] exclaimed Lynch.

English methods had nothing haphazard about them. The planters knew their own minds and were perfectly definite in their intentions. Empire was a subject much discussed, from the model of Carthage down to the modern instances which were inflaming the desires of England; and every detail of her imperial schemes was coldly planned by her statesmen. It was by no chance and no forgetfulness that she refused education to Ireland. We have the report of an official (Sir John Perrot), who had "had some piece of
1583. government in it," and was charged by the Queen to make her a statement as to how "with the least charge" the country could be "reclaimed to a godly government." "Here now lastly," he winds up, "doth *the common objection oppose itself* requiring an answer, whether it be safety or danger, good or evil, for England to have Ireland reformed, lest growing to civility, government, and strength, it should cast off the yoke and be more noisome and dangerous neighbours to England."[2] The Irish, he answers, might be allowed civility, for "*the kings of Spain have now of long time governed other countries being civil and lying further off.*" Thus the full subjection of the Irish was to be the object of education and the apology for learning.

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 63.

[2] Car. ii. 370; *v.* app.

Even this idea however proved too advanced. For these far dominions of Spain were indeed "civil" as compared to English plans for Ireland. The institutions of learning in Mexico in the sixteenth century surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth. One Spanish school in the city of Mexico had over 1520. a thousand pupils taught in the elementary and higher branches, the mechanical and the fine arts. The college of Santa Cruz in Tlaltelolco was f. 1535. founded with a faculty composed largely of graduates from Paris and other European Universities. Lima University in Peru had 2000 students and about 180 doctors in theology, civil and canon law, medicine, and the arts. England employed another system of conquest and suppression. The activities of learning were kept in check. In Harvard a doctor's degree f. 1639. might be obtained after seven years' study, but 1691. after fifty years "we never (more's pity) had any Drs." "I thank God," wrote Governor 1671 Berkeley of Virginia, a State filled with fugitive and banished Irishmen, "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these three hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them *and libels against the best government.* God keep us from both." The Englishman in Ireland claimed a monopoly of all the means of

progress whether of mind or body. Planters opposed enlightenment that might interfere with cheap labour; to the rulers a people untaught seemed fittest for a "godly government." Bacon himself supported the view that Ireland *civil* might become more dangerous than Ireland *savage*,[1] and that ignorant people were the most easily deceived by policy and stratagems—"a shadow of a treaty . . . which methinks shall be in our power to fasten at least *rumore tenus* to the deluding of *as wise people as the Irish*."[2]

The Irishman was thus to be a stranger in his own land, without industry, property, learning, without a history in the past, or scarce a hope of existence in the future. A land waste and desolate for wild beasts, Cowley had told Henry VIII., would be better than to have such a people as the Irishry left in it. We may still hear the fierce irony of a poet of Elizabeth's time:

"Praise no man nor any satirise—but and if thou praise, laud not a Gael: to him that perchance would fain do so, to chant a panegyric of the Gael means odium earned. Break with them—their keen valour quote not, nor call to

[1] Davies, D. 1787, xvi.

[2] Bacon to Cecil, Works, 1841, p. 23. Compare the letter of another Earl of Essex to Burghley (1574) discussing whether the people should be let live on their lands and pay rent or be wholly "extirped"—"the form which shall bring about the one shall do the other, and it may be done without any show that such a thing is meant." Quoted in O'Grady, Cat. 418 n. See also p. 414.

mind lore of their chronicles: take not the course of bestowing commendation on the Gael, before whom be all other men accounted. Here is the manner whereby thy words shall not fall bitter, and this a mean to enhance the value of thy speech: conceal the recital of their good report in all degrees of worthiness, and vilify the blood of every Irish man. The good that hath been, meddle not with it; the good that now is, dwell on that; flatter the English gallants' reputation, since to have fellowship with them is now the likelier . . . a stranger race[1] ne'er name as having any right to Ireland."[2]

The sorrow of the Irish vexed the English. "This ungrateful people I say," complained Hooker the solicitor, "notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed upon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the daily purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and safety, could nor would be ever thankful."[3] "I know not," Walsingham wrote sagely, "whether

[1] *i.e.* the Irish themselves. His phrase was exact. Lord Lyndhurst (May 9, 1836, Lives of the Chancellors, *v.* viii.): "We Protestant Englishmen are to be governed by those who are *aliens* in blood, in language, in religion": or Lord R. Churchill (1886) on a proposal for a Parliament in Dublin where the old inhabitants of Ireland should sit beside the men of Belfast: "If the *British nation* should be so apostate to traditions of honour and courage, as to hand over the Loyalists of Ireland to the domination of an Assembly in Dublin *which must be to them a foreign and an alien assembly*." Life of Lord R. Churchill, p. 63.

[2] O'Gr. Cat. 393.

[3] Hol. vi. 404.

I may ascribe these impediments to the irresolution of this time, or to the cursed destiny of that country being not ordained to receive any good of any determination agreed on for the reformation thereof." The attorney-general Davies was aggrieved to see a race bowed under its infinite calamity. "All the common people have a whining tone or accent in their speech as if they did still smart or suffer some oppression."[1]

[1] Davies, 133, ed. D. 1787.

XI.

THE NEW LEARNING.

After some centuries of the halting efforts of others, the Tudor statesmen took in hand what they euphoniously called "the perfecting" of Ireland. With the murder of Shane O'Neill 1567.
they thought success achieved. "This four hundred and four years begun conquest is 1569.
now ended and brought to an honourable pass . . . by a godly conquest,"[1] their Statute recorded. To abolish the Irish order of life was to them a work blessed by God and deserving of human gratitude. Sir Henry Sidney was, they said, "the first to civilise the Irish people."

We may then ask what was the new learning which England offered to Ireland in the place of what she had destroyed.

The printing-press had been established in 1476.
England under Edward IV.: it was seventy-five years before it crossed S. George's Channel. A printing-press, however, did finally arrive in Dublin in the time of Edward VI. Its first work

[1] Ir. Statutes, 12th Eliz. 313, etc.

1551. was the new English service book that was to be forced on the Irish Catholics. By the end of the century the English press in Ireland had produced proclamations against Shane O'Neill and the O'Conors, a tract on the Protestant religion, and an almanack.[1]

As for Irish readers, when the people had
1570. been goaded into a national and religious war, sharply punished, the politic Elizabeth in her moment of victory gave a printing-press and Irish type, in the hope that God would raise up a translator of the New Testament to teach
1571. obedience to the English Caesars, and heavily taxed the province of Connacht to pay herself for the "gift." Kearney's "Catechism," intended

[1] The earliest printed books in English are the Common Prayer, 1551. The Proclamation against Shane O'Neill, 1561. Proclamation against the O'Conors, 1564. Brefe Declaration of certein Principall Articles of Religion (8 leaves), 1566. William Farmer's "An Almanack for Ireland, 1587 (was this directed against the famous reformed Calendar of Clavius, Lilio, and Ciacconius, promulgated by the Pope (1582) and used in Ireland? *v.* Acton, Lect. on Mod. Hist. 162).

In 1602 appeared A Friendly Caveat to Ireland's Catholickes, etc. 4to. By John Rider (or Ryder), Dean of St. Patrick's, afterwards Bishop of Killaloe. In 1604 A Rescript, etc., also by Rider. It is cited in Works of Rev. H. FitzSimon, S.J. No copy known. In 1604 Instructions to his Children, by Sir Wm. Ussher. 4to. See Harris's Ware. In 1606 "An Answere to Certaine Scandalous Papers, etc.," printed by John Franckton, K.P. *Dix, Earliest Dublin Printing*; *Dix and Dugan's Cat. of Early Dublin-Printed Books*, 1601-1700. There were various proclamations which are cited in the "State Papers," Ireland. Of three of these published in 1605, and printed by John Franckton, it is noteworthy that one was in Latin.

to be an instrument of loyalty,[1] was the only fruit of this press during thirty years, along with a broadside of alderman John Ussher. Dublin offered to the Irish people during the next hundred years a New Testament, a book of Common Prayer, a Catechism, and the Old Testament of the great bishop Bedell. London contributed an Anglican Church Catechism in 1680. The view of letters was strictly utilitarian, and learning arrived in Ireland from England only as a political and proselytising engine of the ascendancy. 1600-1700.

There was no opportunity for the Irish to set up or maintain a press of their own. For them all chance was barred by the flaming sword that turned every way. We have thus the singular spectacle of a country which, while all Europe was printing and throwing open to the peoples a new way of knowledge, was driven back on oral tradition and laborious writing by hand. Some books were printed for Ireland on the Continent, and in two or three towns papers and pamphlets were printed from time to time; but we may roughly say that for two hundred years Irish literature was practically written by devoted scribes. "When Henry VIII. 1500-1700. 1537.

[1] Here is its title: "Alphabet of the Irish Language and Catechism, that is Christian Instruction or Teaching, along with certain articles of the Christian Rule that are proper for everyone *who would be obedient to the law of God and the Queen in this Kingdom*, translated from Latin and English to Irish by John O'Kearney."

first revolted from the authority of the pope, John Travers, an Irishman and doctor of divinity, published a work strenuously advocating the supremacy of the pope over the church. When asked by his judges who was the author of the book he held out his thumb, index and middle finger of the right hand before his judges, 'these fingers,' he nobly avowed, '*wrote that book, and I shall never forget the labour it cost me.*'"[1] Dr. Geoffrey Keating was in hiding, it was said, skulking about from place to place,
1631. when he wrote his history of Ireland, which remained unknown to his countrymen for a century: "some curious persons got copies of it" in writing, such as could afford the luxury,
1723. but it was not printed for a hundred years.[2] A MacDonnell had a manuscript copied for him
1681. at Ostend, from which O'Curry in later days transcribed as much as 1000 pages of poems.[3] Such were the labours of Irish scribes—and such the hindrances to Irish students.

There had long been talk of setting in print the laws. An old Act had ordered the statutes
1494. of Kilkenny to be incorporated and written in two books, one to be kept in the king's chief place, and another in the common place.[4] Robert

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 613; Ware's Writers, 93.

[2] Ware's Writers, 105.

[3] Hyde, Lit. Hist. 471. See also Friar O'Gara's collections made in the Low Countries.

[4] Tr. Rel. to Ireland, ii. App. xx.

Cowley proposed to print them, for, as he said, "many of the old statutes of Kilkenny are good 1537.
to be put in execution, both for the *extincting of amyties between the Englishry and the Irishry*, and the encrease and continuance of English manner and habit":[1] "at any reasonable price," it would 1537.
be a necessary and gracious act, Mr. Justice Luttrell thought, "for few or none can have knowledge of all statutes made in this land, because they be kept in the Treasury, and no books made of them, by reason whereof many offendeth therein for ignorance."[2] Another official desired "order for the building of the 1538.
Castle Hall, where the law is kept, for if the same be not builded, the majesty and estimation of the law shall perish, the Justices being enforced to minister the laws upon hills, as it were Brehons or wild Irishmen."[3] But thirty years later Sidney found "her Majesty's records laid as it were in 1569.
an open place whither any man (that vouchsafed his pains) might come that would, not defended but subject to wind, rain, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected that they served now and then, (as I have by good men and good means credible heard reported), instead of better litter to rub horse heels." Sidney with great care and diligence caused them to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the

[1] St. Pap. II. iii. 499.
[2] St. Pap. II. iii. 509-10.
[3] C.S.P. 1538, 37.

castle of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded, with a chimney in the room.[1] He again proposed the imprinting of the statutes passed in the last few hundred years for Ireland, so many at least "*as it was convenient for our subjects to take note of*," to the end "that no man henceforth might pretend ignorance in the laws, statutes, and ordinances of his own country where he was born." The busy Hooker offered to print at his own charges, and was given the privilege of issuing the selection
1571. for ten years. But two years later Recorder Stanihurst carried to London the roll of 170 statutes thought meet to be published by Carew and his brother councillors—a selection which was in London again corrected by Burghley, and finally printed by Tottell, not in Dublin but in London.[2] Another scheme of Sidney as patron of the sciences came to nothing. A great map
1570. 8½ ft. long and 5½ ft. wide was projected by Lythe, an English engineer, who followed Sidney

[1] Hol. vi. 371-2.

[2] Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii. App. xxi. n.; C.S.P. 1571, 453-4; MS. Titus B. ix. Cotton. Br. Mus.

"The statutes of Ireland from the 10th year of Henry VI. to the thirteenth year of the Queen's Majesty that now is, printed at London 1572, by the procurement of Sir Henry Sydney, knight of the Garter, lord president of Wales and lord deputy of Ireland, having summoned all the justices of both benches with the chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Mr. of the Rolls, and referred to them the copying out and examining of all the statutes as were of Record and not published; which they did, and delivered the same perfectly written and examined, with all their hands subscribed to every one of them."

for the perfecting of this "platte," but he got from him too little wages to carry out the scheme.[1]

The Tudor princes made boast of being patrons of learning, their minds exalted and their courts adorned by the best science of their day. From time to time they discussed education in Ireland. Not however as a matter of learning, but as another means side by side with religion of Anglicising the Irish. A proposal to "reform" Ireland was made early in the century: "Also, that every 1515.
landlord, great or small, of every Irish country subject to the king, put his son and heir to Dublin, or to Drogheda, or to some other English town, to learn to write and read, and to speak English, to learn also the draught and manners of English men."[2] Not a single school was provided during that generation. The confiscation of the religious houses seemed to offer opportunities for "the finding of a free school whereof 1543.
there is great lack in this land, having never a one within the same"[3] (that is an English 1547.
grammar school) and it was suggested that from the chapels and chauntries taken into the king's hand sundry free schools might be erected for the education of the youth of Ireland.[4] But the government gave no hearing to the plan: the treasure was swept into the English mint, and

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. vi. i. Plate v.
[2] St. Pap. ii. pt. iii. p. 30.
[3] St. Pap. iii. iii. 468.
[4] Shirley, Orig. Letters, ii

the "trussing coffers" of the English officials, and still not a school was founded.

The idea was revived under Elizabeth and
1561. the advantages of such a scheme unfolded. The aim was frankly political—to breed up under English masters men fit to govern[1] according
1563. to English ideas. Commissioners were appointed, and secretly instructed that if any public schools should be founded as a beginning in Dublin, teachers and scholars were to be chosen from the English alone.[2] No Irishman born or Catholic was henceforth to teach either religion or classical learning. The foreign schoolmaster, along with the clergyman and the landlord, was to be a government agent for the suppression of Irish life.[3]

Sir Henry Sidney being deputy determined with his Dublin friends, the Stanihursts and Campion and Hooker, to put in force these
1569. proposals of Elizabeth's government.[4] They formed a powerful group. James Stanihurst, of a merchant family settled in Dublin from the
1553. fourteenth century, was a lawyer of great wealth[5] and Recorder of Dublin. His son
1547-1618. Richard had gone from Kilkenny school to
1563. Oxford, and to the London law schools. He made friends with Campion, son of a London

[1] C.S.P. 1561, 165; Richey, 327. [2] Car. i. 359.
[3] Camp. cap. x.; Bellesheim, Gesch. ii. 146.
[4] C.S.P. 1569, 400; Camp. cap. x.
[5] Car. i. 198, 288; Hol. vi. 65; Cal. Rec. Dub. i. 230, 437 441.

bookseller, who had undertaken to write the history of Ireland for Holinshed's collection of Chronicles, and for this work came to live in Dublin. Hooker, the solicitor of Sir Peter Carew, had just come from Exeter. About the same time Dr. Hanmer, vicar choral of Christ-Church, collected materials for a chronicle of Ireland.[1] c. 1568 1571.

The temper of these men is shown by their life and work. James Stanihurst had presided over Elizabeth's first parliament in Dublin,[2] had by common report forced through the Commons the Statute of Uniformity by putting the question when his chief opponents were absent, and had his reward in lands.[3] He was again speaker in the second and equally stormy parliament, which ended in an Irish war and opened the era of the great confiscations. Richard, who took the post of schoolmaster to the children of the Earl of Kildare at Rathangan, made a declaration of the "rebels" that resorted to the earl, and prophesied God's wrath on his master.[4] Dr. Hanmer commended himself to Burghley as an informer about the doings of Tyrone, and how "by making a fire on the bank" he can have an endless supply of Scots: "I being set a work to collect the antiquities of this land and to register them unto the posterity, do come to the knowledge and view of these things."[5] The 1560. 1569. 1575. 1594.

[1] C.S.P. 1594, 229. [2] Camb. Ev. iii. 19-21. [3] Car. i. 299.
[4] C.S.P. 1575, 74; *v.* app. [5] C.S.P. 1594, 229.

attorney Hooker was perhaps the chief cause of the Irish war in 1569, cunning artificer of tyranny, the unscrupulous agent of Carew's cruelties and confiscations, the tool of Sidney, the leader of
1569. aliens forced into the parliament by guile "which could not be digested," the orator of oppression, so that, said the Ireland men, "if his words had been spoken in any other place they would have died rather than hear them." The patron of the whole group, Sir H. Sidney,[1] "perfect in blazoning of arms, skilful of antiquities," boasting much of his collections of records and statutes of the Pale, was long remembered in tradition for his Vandalism in the destruction of Irish books and manuscripts.

1570. Campion was thirty years old, Richard Stanihurst twenty-three, when they undertook the history of Ireland—Campion compiling a summary account to 1571; Stanihurst writing a description of Ireland, and the reign of Henry VIII.; a story which Hooker continued to 1581, and added a translation of *Giraldus Cambrensis* dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, with a suitable preface in contempt of Ireland—"a country the more barren of good things the more replenished with actions of blood, murder, and loathsome outrages,"[2] irksome to be read, much more for any man to reduce into an history. He could see but one merit that redeemed this "tragical

[1] Cf. Hanmer's Chron. 147. [2] Hol. vi. 103.

discourse"—the prodigious example in Ireland of God's just and severe punishment on disobedience to the queen, "as the like in our age hath not been seen or known"—the age of Alva and the Netherland wars.

The friends were writing of a land foreign to them, with the drawback that not one of them knew, and none of them respected, the language of the country they wrote of; that their ignorance of Irish history and law and literature was complete, that their vision was bounded by the Pale, and that they were alike steeped in prejudices against the Irish fostered in the foreign colony[1]—prejudices which left them credulous and uncritical, at the mercy of every fanciful tale. Campion compiled his history in ten weeks. Stanihurst's "description of Ireland" seems to show that the only Irish journey he ever made was to his Kilkenny school, and through the port of Waterford. He had seen Tara too[2]—now in English speech plain "Kempe's

[1] Stanihurst described the danger of any communication between foreign settlers and the people of Ireland. "Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance waffed in the Irish tongue, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudeness, rudeness engendered ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of laws, the contempt of laws bred rebellion." Hol. vi. 5.

[2] "There is in Meath an hill called the Hill of Tara, wherein is a plain twelve score long, which was named the Kempe his hall: there the country had their meetings and folkmotes, as a place that was accounted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish historians hammer many fables in this forge of Fin mac Coile and his champions, as the French history doth of

Hall"—for at Tara within a ride from Dublin it was the custom to hold meetings to the honour of St. George, and military parades, as signals of English dominion. His history differs profoundly from that of Hooker in the range of its interest in Irish affairs, and its gleams of sympathy and wider historical outlook; but the traditional superiority of the colonist, the lack of Irish learning, and the repetition of the old slanders current in the Pale, made it deeply resented by Irish historians.[1] It offended also an English scholar in the time of Charles II., who had for twenty years made diligent enquiry into chronicles and histories and study of "such ancient passages of Ireland which without insight in the language none can ever come to understand; as I have well perceived by Giraldus Cambrensis, Stanihurst, Sir John Davies, Dr. Hanmer, Campion, Morrison, Spenser, and such other partial authors who have taken upon them to write Chronicles and Antiquities of Ireland, whose books if they were not so filled up with falsehoods and slanderings of the Irish nation would produce nothing but books of white paper."[2] "I cannot forbear being astonished," wrote the learned Dr. Ware, "that some men

king Arthur and the knights of the round table. But doubtless the place seemeth to bear the shew of an ancient and famous monument." Hol. vi. 39.

[1] See Introd. to Keating's History.

[2] His name is unknown. Soc. of Ant., Oct. 1871, p. 593.

of this age who in other respects are men of gravity and learning should again obtrude these fictions of *Cambrensis* on the world for truths."[1]

This was the group that proposed to "reform" Ireland by teaching its people to abandon all tradition of a nation. They drew up an Act 1569.
to establish schools, in which they recited the political vices of the Irish, by which the greatest number of the people of this land had long lived in rude and barbarous states,[2] not knowing that God had forbidden[3] the manifest and heinous offences which they spare not daily and hourly to commit and perpetrate. Henceforth schoolmasters of English race and English birth, appointed by English bishops and deputies, were to be placed in every diocese in schools built

[1] Ware's Antiqs. 190.

[2] Ir. Stat. 12th Eliz. c. 1. Or in Hooker's full-blooded denunciation—"This wicked, effrenated, barbarous and unfaithful nation who, as Cambrensis writeth of them, they are a wicked and perverse generation, constant always in that they be always inconstant, faithful in that they be always unfaithful, and trusty in that they be always treacherous and untrusty. They do nothing but imagine mischief, and have no delight in any good thing. . . . *God is not known in their land, neither is his name rightly called upon among them.* Their queen and sovereign they obey not, and her government they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist her imperial estate, crown and dignity." Hol. vi. 369.

[3] Ir. Stat. 12th Eliz. cap. v. An Anglican divine, the Warden of Keble, preaching before the Peace Conference of the Hague in 1907 stated that Christianity was opposed to excessive Nationalism—the doctrine of the Church of Elizabeth in Ireland. "Times," July 8, 1907.

for them, there to teach sedulously how God has "commanded a due and humble obedience from the people to their princes and rulers." "Actuated," in a modern phrase, "by the most liberal motives, and a perfectly legitimate conception of educational principles," James Stanihurst described to parliament the aim of the
1570. new schools. "In particular the zeal which I have to the reformation of this realm, and to breed in the rudest of our people *resolute English hearts* . . . I doubt not," he adds of the schools, ". . . but this addition discreetly made will foster a young fry likely to prove good members of this commonwealth and desirous to train their children the same way. Neither were it a small help to *the assurance of the crown of England* when babes from their cradles should be inured under learned schoolmasters with a pure English tongue, habit, fashion, discipline, and in time utterly forget the affinity of their unbroken" Irish neighbours.[1] Like every other benevolence offered to the Irish—the possession of their own land, the practice of their religion, the use of their commerce—education was to be bought by an Irishman at the absolute surrender of his nationality, and on the condition of his being fitted as an instrument for the subjection of his fellow-countrymen.

The bill for schools was at first thrown out

[1] Camp. cap. x.

because the bishops refused to allow the patronage to the deputy, and objected to his exempting from taxation the richest Church lands confiscated into lay hands. It was passed under pressure the next year.[1] But the law remained dead. 1570.
Not a school was founded.

The plan for setting up schools, in fact, shared the ruin of its loyal promoters. Campion, distrusted as a Papist, spent most of his time in hiding from arrest, till he escaped to England 1571.
disguised as a lacquey, and then to Douay and Rome, and only returned with Parsons on his 1581.
English mission to suffer death. James Stanihurst spent the two years till his death in vain petitions for additional rewards for his parliamentary services. Richard, of Ireland birth and nurtured in the English interest, had no country to call his own: the lessons he learned at Kilkenny were probably deepened by what he saw at Rathangan; escaping to the Continent he became a Roman Catholic, seems to have taken up the cause of the Irish at the Spanish Court, "a famous man and very well thought of," and worked at Leyden and Antwerp on his translations and life of S. Patrick.[2] Sir H. Sidney was recalled by official intrigues, and with a last effort to awaken enthusiasm for his heavy military taxation departed, leaving a debt of £4000. And at his very entering 1570.

[1] Bagwell, ii. 158, 176; C.S.P. 1569, 400.

[2] Brenan, Eccl. Hist. of Ire. 445; C.S.P. 1592, 479.

into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the psalm, "In exitu Israel de Aegypto, et domus Jacob de populo barbaro."[1] So he took leave of "the stiff-necked and ungrateful people," while his brother-in-law Fitzwilliam took up the Irish problem with the old plan for remedying the "enormities" of Ireland—English lineal inheritance, English planters, English dress, English taxes, English schools, an English Protestant university, English hospitals or workhouses for the Irish minstrels and horse-boys, and English provost-marshals to travel through the land for executions.

Under his successor, Sir John Perrot, a beginning was made of fastening on Irish schools the national system of England. On the transparent plea of sympathy for Irish boys, who if they should chance to move from school to school might be "put back in their learning" by being also moved from one grammar to another, it
c. 1587. was ordered that the English Lilly's grammar
1509-13. should alone be used,[2]—a grammar compiled under
1540. Henry VIII., remodelled and designed to become
1574. the *national* Latin Grammar. The new edition lately issued "by royal authority" of Elizabeth "queen of England, France and Ireland," with an admonition to all masters "within this our realm and dominions," and printed in London,

[1] Hooker, Hol. vi. 399. [2] Tuckey's Cork, 64.

did not commend itself to Irish boys, and ten years later it was reported that Her Majesty's titles were torn out of the grammars all through Cork, "though the books came new from the merchants' shops."[1]

The attempt to enforce a "national" grammar was however of no great consequence, for in thirty years of war and massacre there was little thought for schools. English efforts at education were exhausted. The advocates of "strong government" and division of spoils obtained general confidence for a policy simple and time-honoured. "Such is their stubbornness and pride that with a continual fear it must be bridled, and such is the hardness of their hearts that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued. . . . This is to be meant of the Irishry and savage people who . . . the more they are under their O'Brien government the less dutiful to their *natural* sovereign and prince."[2] At the end of Elizabeth's and Burghley's work in Ireland they had not yet founded a single grammar-school: "neither Ireland had schoolmasters of the re- 1599.
formed religion, nor would the Irish then have sent their children to any such."[3] It was the great misery even in the Pale, Elizabeth was told,

[1] C.S.P. 1597, 13. [2] Hol. vi. 369.

[3] Fynes Moryson. In the next century English schoolmasters were appointed in the towns, and funds for schools and apprenticeship limited to Protestants. *v.* Smith's Wat. 156.

that there were no schools "to learn younglings the English tongue."[1]

Proposals for a university in Ireland went
1315. the same way as schemes for schools. Twice
1320. charters had been granted for a general university of learning in Dublin,[2] as from the island "no access or passage is to be had to any University but through great dangers by sea." Twice the project had died, for lack of funds, it was said.
1465. The beheading of earl Thomas of Desmond ended his effort to found a University at Drogheda. No scheme prospered in fact till one had been devised that confined its benefits to the ruling caste and left the "mere Irish" outside. This last proposal, the scheme for Trinity College in Dublin, began under Henry VIII.

To persuade the chapter of S. Patrick's to
1542. condescend to its surrender at the suppression of the religious houses, Henry had promised that its funds should be used for a university.[3]
1549. But when all the plate had been seized for the mint by Edward,[4] the plan for a university slept for a dozen years. The Pope having then
1560-4. charged Archbishop Creagh and Father David Wolfe with the erecting of universities and colleges,[5] fear of Roman competition suddenly revived the plans for a Protestant and English

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 193 n.
[2] Ware's Ant. 242.
[3] Shirley's Orig. Letters, 13.
[4] Ib. 31.
[5] Bellesheim, ii. 146; Car. i. 359; Shirley, 126, 141.

university, scholars to be taken from the English only; and schemes were drawn up (with lists of expenses)[1] to turn S. Patrick's "to some use," as Cecil said, "which now serveth for lurking Papists." Creagh and Wolfe however were disposed of in prison and exile, and the government, thus relieved of rivalry in education, sank again into apathy. In face of the opposition of the Dublin archbishops nothing was done about S. Patrick's. Archbishop Curwen, in spite of the proposal that the learners and scholars should be taken from the English only, raised among a host of other objections the old alarm of the ascendancy:[2] "An university here 1564.
were unprofitable, for the Irish enemies under colour of study would send their friends hither, who would learn the secrets of the country and advertise them thereof, so that the Irish rebels should by them know the privity of the English Pale."[3] Nor did he want learned men, said the Englishman, if he had not enough fat livings to reward them.

Primate Loftus of Armagh, while ostensibly working with bishop Brady of Meath for the conversion of S. Patrick's into a University, secretly and contrary to his pledged word accepted 1565.
its deanery for himself,[4] ("when I knew it was so indeed, lord, how my combe was cut!"

[1] Ib. 126.
[2] See p. 269.
[3] Shirley, Orig. Letters, 152.
[4] Ib. 180-5, 200-1.

cried Brady); and by a double treachery hid the fact that he was under a bond of £1000 to resign the deanery if the university were formed. When Curwen "the old unprofitable workman"[1] was called home, and Primate Loftus, in what he piously called his "pilgrimage in Ireland,"
1567. took the more lucrative post of archbishop of Dublin his zeal yet further waned.[2] He was interested not only in the deanery, but in the livings of S. Patrick's "by long leases and other estates thereof granted either to himself, his children, or kinsmen."[3] Its translated state,
1570. Loftus now thought, would do much evil by discouraging the good and godly preachers of the English nation, since fifteen graduates of the universities besides the archbishop himself, about a dozen of them his own dependents, were entertained by means of that cathedral to preach in the Pale (Loftus in his zeal had given the archdeaconry of Glendalough to a lay friend of very ill repute).[4]

Sidney made an earnest effort to revive the
1570. University of 1320. "A motion was made in this last parliament to erect it again, contributions laid together, Sir Henry Sidney then lord deputy, proffered 20 pounds lands, and one hundred pounds money, others followed after their abilities and devotions, the name devised

[1] Shirley, Orig. Letters, 201. [2] Ib. 295.
[3] Perrot's Life, 242-3. [4] Bellesheim, ii. 214.

Master Acworth, Plantolinum of Plantagenet and Bullyne. But while they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principal."[1] John Ussher proposed to secure funds by a reformation of the Staple, and offered to give up his own share in these profits;[2] and later urged the erection of a university out of the escheated lands, as the only means, by educating the Irish youth at home, to keep them from rebellion and the notions imbibed at Louvain and Douay.[3] 1571. 1582.

The government probably accepted Curwen's argument against giving Irishmen from the country access to the secrets and privities of official life in Dublin; and in view of Loftus' attitude about the livings, it was decided that S. Patrick's was "not commodious,[4] and other circumstances inferred a feeble and raw foundation." The official world therefore still sent their sons to English universities,[5] and "deliberately contrived," the Jesuits wrote to the Pope, "to keep the natives in the gloom of barbarous ignorance, so as thus to retain them like slaves in abject obedience."[6] But Walsingham noted

[1] Campion, cap. v.

[2] C.S.P. 1571, 452. See his request to farm the Customs, 1564, Shirley, Orig. Let. 154.

[3] Ib. 1582, 353.

[4] Camp. cap. x.

[5] C.S.P. 1588, 44; 1591, 439, 446, 456.

[6] Mahaffy, Epoch in Ir. Hist. 31. Car. Papers, 36.

"the runagates of that nation, which under pretence of study in the universities beyond the seas, do return freight with superstition and treason": and proposed a university at Clonfert, near the Shannon, healthy, at the middle of the kingdom, and easy of access: a wall was to be built round it, the bishoprics of Clonfert and Elphin to be appropriated for its support, and all the Irish bishops were to add contributions to maintain learned men. The idea of Clonfert however
1581. did not get beyond Westminster, and the suggestion of Archbishop Lancaster of Armagh that
1584. the university should be in Drogheda under his eye, and of the parson of Trim that it might be in Trim, equally failed.[1] A later "discourse for the reformation of Ireland" proposed the abroga-
1583. tion of all pardons, increased garrisons, and two universities in Limerick and Armagh.[2] But Archbishop Loftus saw no need for any university: "I might say," he wrote to Burghley with his usual effrontery, "schools are provided for in every country here. Oxford and Cambridge are not far off, all under one dominion, but this will not satisfy."[3]

At last when the Irish people were "brayed as it were in a mortar with the sword, famine, and pestilence altogether,"[4] it was thought safe to establish a Dublin university. Loftus was placated

[1] C.S.P. 1581, 302; 1584, 513.
[2] Car. ii. 369.
[3] C.S.P. 1584, cxxxii.
[4] Davies, D. 1787, 54.

by assured possession of his profits in S. Patrick's, and Trinity College was founded on the site of the monastery of All Hallows given by the 1593
Dublin corporation. With the re-assured Loftus, lord chancellor and archbishop, as its Provost, its mission was to secure and maintain the ascendancy of the English planters and their Church. There the youth of the Pale should be instructed on "the solid foundation of the English reformation," as the Provost in his inaugural address expressed it. "Both Papists and Schismatics are, though in different degrees of enmity, equally our implacable enemies." There too the sons of the Irish were to be bent to the queen's law and religion. The provost-marshals were making orphans all over the country, and these orphans were now wards of the Crown by the newly ordained land-tenures. What with wards and pledges a goodly company of boys could be assembled at Trinity to learn loyalty. James I. had a clause inserted in all grants of wardship that the wards should be "maintained and educated in the English religion and habits in Trinity College, Dublin"; [1] and "his majesty's care" was much commended "in amplifying the college there and in looking to the education of wards and the like; as they are the most natural means so are they like to be the most effectual

[1] O'Flaherty, W. Conn. 420 n.; Tr. Rel. to Irel. ii., Stat. Kilk. 12 n.

and happy for *the weeding out of popery without using the temporal sword.*"[1]

The new College sent circular letters to the Catholic gentlemen of the country to beg funds for this purpose. Their answer lacked cordiality: "the county of Limerick," said the Vice-President of Munster, had agreed "to give 3/4 out of every ploughland, which I have sent men to collect, and will do my best to draw the other counties to some contribution, but *I do find devotion so cold as that I shall hereafter think it a very hard thing to compass so great a work upon so bare a foundation.*"[2] The State however did not allow this branch of the English government to fail. The rival school at Galway was suppressed. James gave the College lands confiscated in Ulster, and benefactions enriched Trinity till it was endowed with a hundredth part of the land of the Irish people, for the sole education of Episcopalians, rejecting all "Papists and Schismatics."[3] "Our tyrants," wrote Dr. Lynch, "adopt the plans of Sylla in the confiscation of our properties, and taking an arrow from the cruel armoury of Julian the Apostate, they consign all our youth to the darkness of ignorance."[4]

[1] Bacon, Works, 1841, ii. 84. Many of these captive wards seem to have deserted and fled abroad. See Epoch in Irish Hist. Mahaffy, 50.

[2] Tuckey's Cork, 65.

[3] Royal Com. on Trinity, 1907. [4] Camb. Ev. i. 21; *v.* app.

The English occupation thus offered no culture to Ireland. We might say indeed that the Irish saw the whole forces of the State employed to refuse knowledge to the people—a government officially occupied in destroying Irish schools, and as it were busy unofficially in seeing that no money was wasted in putting other schools in their place—great officers of state opposing a University, and when it was granted confining its privileges to their own class—a political printing-press whence proclamations and tracts issued to outrage all the pieties of an Irishman towards his people or his faith.

Since learning was thus cut off at home for the great mass of the Irish people, we may ask whether the English rulers offered their fellow-subjects from Ireland any chance of education in England.

We have already seen the fluctuating fortunes of Irish students at Oxford and the Inns of Court; and the results of Henry's experiment to restore them to the English Universities. Such examples of free study in England did not suit the royal policy. Elizabeth hoped to do better by herself ordering the pupils and their places of work. Here the way had been marked out for her by her father. For not all the students of Henry's time had been free men. He had adopted the efficient policy of seizing the heirs of the chiefs as wards or pledges or

prisoners, and giving them an English education. The boy was torn from his people, kept in an English household or school as in a gaol, and put under a training devised to make him forget and despise his own country, to enfeeble his purpose, and to break the confidence of his tribe.

1537. For promise of a title, Brian FitzPatrick Lord of Ossory renounced his Irish name and language, promised to bring up his children in English

1549. customs and the use of the English tongue, and sent his son to the Pale to be well brought

1541. up and speak good English.[1] But when the

1542. robes of a baron arrived, he had to bring his heir Barnaby to Maynooth "to have given him to his Majesty; he is a proper child and one whom he much tendereth"; and Barnaby, brought up as playmate to Prince Edward, and later gentleman of the chamber, returned to imprison his father and his wife with, as they alleged, unnatural and extreme cruelty, charging them with "rebellion";[2] and in his own sufferings became at once the tool and the victim of the English. As their power widened Sussex and Sidney carried off in their train the notable chiefs' sons within

1557. their reach. O'Carroll's eldest son was deported as Sidney's boy and man, and in ten years was so fashioned as "to be nearly addicted to the

[1] Fac. Nat. MSS. iv. 1, Plates xi. and xii.; St. Pap. III. lii. 291; *v.* app.

[2] Fac. Nat. MSS. iv. 1, xi. xii.

English order," and able to bend his father to the uncommonly hard bargain which Sidney drove with him at the sword's point. Tibbot Burke was one of those who had to pay for his English education by bringing the head of one of his people—"putting himself into blood" as the English phrase went—he who "being Sidney's man" killed the great leader James Fitzmaurice with his own hand.

For centuries it remained the English system to train up, or to single out for wealth and reward, the most ignoble of their race, men greedy, dishonest, unnatural, and treacherous. Such men can be found in every country. It is not in every country that the government undertakes to foster through a score of generations such a disease in the national life.

Under Elizabeth this method of proselytising children at once to the English Church and Law was rapidly pushed on. Chiefs were called before the deputy to answer whether they had "behaved themselves like good subjects,"[1] and "brought up their children after the English fashions, and in the use of the English tongue"; and on this excuse or any other the heirs, children or grown men, chosen according to the tenure,[2] were sent as "pledges" to Dublin Castle, or to the profit of some high official, with such charges as their friends were not able to bear. "Twelve

[1] W. Conn. 321. [2] C.S.P. 1590, 346.

chargeable children lie on his hand,"[1] grumbled a
1579. vice-chamberlain. Kildare's son was seized and was practically a prisoner till his death. Baron
1580. Valencia taken (with the sons of Desmond and the Knight of Kerry) as a hostage for his father was imprisoned in Dublin, then London, then back in Dublin, whence he escaped to France to
1588. die in poverty.[2] The sons of Clanrickard and O'Rourke (this Brian O'Rourke "of a sharp wit
1584. and tractable mind") were sent by Sir J. Perrot to the queen: "they are pretty, quick boys, and would with good education I hope be made good members of Christ and this Commonwealth, and therefore I humbly pray you to procure that some care may be had of them, and their parents shall bear most of the charge." Brian was presently placed at Oxford in a practical captivity, and in spite of his father's entreaties that he should not run the risks of the young Valencia,[3] he did make that desperate venture and got back to the mountains.

In other cases bribes were used to persuade chiefs to send their children to England to be
1585. brought up in civilisation.[4] Rory O'Flaherty was given his letters patent of his castle and house of Moycullen and other lands "in respect of his good and civil bringing up in England."[5]

[1] C.S.P. 1566, 299.
[2] MacCarthy, 145; Car. 1580, 255, 258.
[3] C.S.P. 1584, 539. [4] W. Conn. 420 n.
[5] O'Flaherty, W. Conn. 420.

Sir Owen MacCarthy prayed for the fee farm of certain abbeys for the maintenance of two of his young sons at Oxford.[1] MacGeoghegan had a pension of 5s. a day[2] that his two sons might go to England to be brought up in good civility and literature; when the pension was not paid he took them home. Year after year the dreary procession of the children passed, with high payment to their English guardians, to Walsingham's house, to Leicester's house, to Westminster School, to Oxford, where by a cunning system of costs and debts every tradesman was made a detective to keep his infant debtor from escape. It was to find release from such a captivity that Richard Burke lord of Dunkellin begged to have his debts paid up at Oxford and be removed to Court.[3] Every governor added to the list, till there was not a leading Irishman who had not given son or brother as pledge.[4] Taaffe as an officer much employed in the border states perceived the opportunity of commercial profit:[5] he would have all gentlemen there send their sons to school if they could afford to pay, and if not to place them in the English Pale at twelve years old to learn crafts as artificers—to serve in fact as carpenters, smiths, or weavers for the new English captains of industry.

1583. Oct.

1589.

1588. Sep.

1585.

[1] C.S.P. 1583, 471.
[2] Ib. 1589, 275.
[3] C.S.P. 1588, 27; 1593, 74.
[4] Ib. 1592, 500.
[5] Ib. 1585, 562.

In the course of fifty years the method was fully perfected, and there was not a house that did not mourn a captured son. Camden tells[1] how in Westminster School he brought to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, Walshes, Nugents, O'Reillys, Lombards of Waterford, "and others bred popishly and *so affected*." Lord Muskerry had two sons carried off, never to be seen by
1602. him again; one left a pledge in the queen's hand, while the heir, "by his father extremely beloved even as his own life,"[2] was put to school at Oxford under charge of the Dean of Christ-church, with underhand a good eye kept upon him that he should not unknown return to Ireland: "The boy is very forward, of a great wit and spirit and at the least sixteen years old; hereof I pray your honour to give notice to the Dean to be careful. . . . He is a youth
1600. of great expectation among the Irish and will be exceedingly followed." Piers Lacey saw his two sons for the last time when Carew carried them off to England: at their father's death
1601. Carew debated whether by their liberty the expense of their keep might be saved, "but yet because hereafter I am assured that within a few years they will be rebels . . . I dare not let such
1577. whelps loose."[3] Florence MacCarthy who aged 15 had been made ward of Drury at his father's

[1] Lomb. ed. Moran, x.
[2] MacCarthy, 340, 354.
[3] MacCarthy, 340.

death, saw his own son made pledge in his turn.[1]

Occasionally it was proposed to release some 1602.
of these poor boys—"the one of the said fathers being in the Tower, and the other two slain in natural rebellion, so as to save the queen's purse, upon good security of lords and chief gentlemen of Ireland that are of power to restrain their insolences, and also of merchants or citizens of corporate towns that are meniable to the laws." But the queen had first to make sure that they were sufficiently weakened in body or broken in spirit, and that no Irish Catholic but a Protestant Englishman would be returned to his father's house—like O'Duinn[2] of Queen's County 1566-
who after seventeen years of Oxford training came 1604.
back about 1599 to persuade his name and neighbours not to shrink from their loyalty, and had his reward as Master of Chancery—like the son of 1628.
Lord Kerry reported among the Irish a terrible man, "but it is no wonder he having always been brought up among the English"[3]—like Maurice O'Brien, a Cambridge man, who declared that it would be better to be a prisoner in England than a free man in Ireland, and was

[1] MacCarthy, 396, 340, 356.

[2] Soc. of Ant. I. i. 1856, p. 101. He must have belonged to a chief family of learning apparently founded 1300-1400, and was perhaps ordered back to use the authority of their name in support of the conquerors.

[3] MacCarthy, 428.

selected (six years too young to be consecrated) by a satisfied governor to minister the English religion to his countrymen as bishop of Killaloe[1] —like Daniell son of Florence MacCarthy, the miserable victim of a foreign gaoler's training (for he had known no other)—coward, gambler, spy, treacherous to his sick and captive father: "In England I have eaten most of my bread, and although Ireland challenges my birth . . . I could justly say and swear, without either lying or flattery, that there is no nation under the sun I do more truly affect than England and Englishmen. . . . Little is it to be wondered or suspected that I should be thus affected to England and Englishmen, for I cannot choose but be so without I were more than justly ungrateful,"[2] so wrote this perverted and ill-fashioned pupil of the English, who had been bred up in prison and had seen his father "in his lunacy" from sorrow, and without offence or trial left through forty years of despair to grow old in gaol.

1570-1613.

The English had no more terrible means of subjugation than this capture through successive generations of the hope and strength of the tribes. Who can tell the agony of honourable Irishmen as they mourned their best sons struck down by a fate worse to them than death? What story can exceed in horror that of the

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 265-6. [2] MacCarthy, 434.

last Desmond? Born in the Tower prison, 1573.
"presented" by the Earl of Leicester to the
Queen, seized and kept close in Dublin Castle 1579.
"without any kind of learning" in spite of his
father's prayers that he should be educated,[1]
sent for sixteen years to the Tower, we hear his
lamentable complaint to Sir R. Cecil: "Let it 1593.
not be offensive, I beseech you, to be troubled
with the lines of an unknown stranger, who
though young in years, yet being old in misery.
. . . My hard fortune and my faultlessness
I hope are neither unknown to you; how only
by being born the unfortunate son of a faulty
father, I have since my infancy never breathed
out of prison—the only hellish torment to a
faithful heart to be holden in suspect, when it
never thought upon offence."[2] The wretched
martyr sailed at last from Bristol for Ireland, 1600.
travelling with the Tower curse on him, his
plaisters and liniments and ointments and elec-
tuaries, and pills and powders for the head, and
comfortable fomentations and boluses, and his
nurse.[3] He had his keeper Captain Price, a
common spy and unlearned—"no great doctor
nor other of those curious stately followers"[4]
but an "honest plain gentleman," who spoke no
Irish, but as a good gaoler stood by the captive
Earl when he wrote his letters, and sent word

[1] C.S.P. 1582, 393, 448.
[2] MacCarthy, 490.
[3] MacCarthy, 487-9, 491-3, 494-5.
[4] Ib. 495-6.

to Court of what might be believed true in them; according to instructions however allowing him to appear for the moment in public under the appearance of "a free man without any mark of a prisoner." He had his tutor in Protestantism, Miler Magrath, to keep him "moderate in religion," and preach to him "that he at his first coming do fashion himself in some convenient manner agreeable to the Irish nation." As a further help he had his gift of £100 from Cecil *to buy him armour* for that sad body and necessaries for *the sending away his nurse*. But for all his new armour, for all his unwonted shew of freedom, for all the tractable obedience of the poor enfeebled mind, neither he himself nor any of his people were "to hold the reins of his bridle," in other words to have any word in the spending of his income, which was to be cut short, nor was he even to know how much it was. "Her Majesty looketh at his hands," wrote Cecil, "to fetch all light for his actions from her."[1] "He may also be told that he shall come over *when he hath done any good*[2] and marry in England"[3] with a lady whose name Cecil refused to tell him.

So from his English training came the heir of the Fitzgeralds, inheriting all the devotion

[1] Ib. 500.

[2] *i.e.* "put himself in blood" by slaying a leading Irishman.

[3] MacCarthy, 500.

that house had won from the Irish—"a man infinitely adored in Munster." Under Captain Price's eye he wrote to Elizabeth of his landing very sick at Youghal "where I had like, coming new of the sea and therefore somewhat weak, to be overthrown with the kisses of old calleahs, and was received with that joy of the poor people as did well shew they joyed in the exceeding mercy her sacred Majesty shewed towards me." To which poor people and others that came, "many of the best quality," he duly answered at the bidding of his keeper after "the earnest of his vows and thankfulness" to the Queen: "whom I took hand over head and preached to them her Highness's clemency towards me, of which there could be no truer example than myself."

Thus he passed to Cork, "at whose entry into the town," wrote Cecil's agent, "there was so great and wonderful alacrity and rejoicing of the people both men, women, and children, and so mighty crying and pressing about him, as there was not only much ado to follow him, but also a great number overthrown, and overrun in the streets in striving who should come first unto him; the like whereof I never heard or saw before, nor would think it could ever be, except it were about our Prince. Indeed I have often read that upon the election of a king the people generally would cry King H., King H., or otherwise, according to his name, so likewise (though

1600. Oct. 21.

unmeet to be done to a subject) the hearts of the people: yea the very infants, hearing but this Desmond named, could not contain themselves from shewing the affection they bear to his house. I assure your Honour it was not like the cry made to Richard the third at Baynardes Castle."[1] So the crowd followed, "everyone throwing on him wheat and salt (an ancient ceremony used in that province), as a prediction of future peace and plenty."

Trouble began with the Welsh soldiers who set out foraging through Cork as in a captured town, so that presently neither lodging nor supper was to be had there, and for many hours "it was much ado that we got anything for money":[2] but the poor Earl comforted himself with a hope that by help of her Majesty's forces he would get Castlemagne, and his "best friend the archbishop of Cashel putteth me in very great hope that we shall shortly perform our greatest task, the taking or killing of James FitzThomas"—in honour of the English armour. The people turned from the shadow of their great house, stunted in mind and body, a worshipper at the Englishman's church. "The Tower Earl," they cried, "the Queen's Earl," and they spat as he entered the temple of the aliens. His terrified mind sought, out of the memories of his prison, some phantom of security in expressions of loyalty.

[1] MacCarthy, 494. [2] Cf. ib. 499.

"I know not whither to turn me, if into time 1601.
past I behold a long misery: if into the present such a happiness, in the comparison of that Hell, as may be a stop to every further encroachment . . . where can her Majesty's charity more perfectly shine than upon her humble creature who hath received life from her and grace from you . . . me that submits all his ends to your liking."[1] The Tower air had done its work, and the last Desmond died before he had "done any good." "The late unfortunate young Earl hath 1602.
left here four poor sisters."[2]

This then was the sum of education offered by England to Ireland. A printing press which produced nothing but proselytising catechisms, and proclamations of death and confiscation for Irish patriots—a press which in effect could only make the printed leaf a thing of universal dread and hate; a Latin grammar of which the whole point was in the title-page; an Act to found schools, and in the century not one school founded; after long wrangling a University at Irish expense for the training of the alien rulers and adventurers, every Irishman shut out who had not proclaimed himself a deserter from his people: a system of teaching in England which by debasing character and destroying an Irishman's honour, made him no longer an object of fear, nor of regard, to the

[1] MacCarthy, 501. [2] Ib. 501.

ruling caste in Ireland—such was the new learning laid before the Irish.

And the Irish for answer shunned the English universities, and flocked to continental schools "where your Majesty is rather hated than honoured in."[1]

[1] Car. ii. 480.

XII.

FOREIGN EDUCATION.

"They are to be pitied that lack letters, and through hatred of the alphabet are brought low," wrote one of the banished Irish scholars in the Irish grammar he printed in Rome.[1] The destruction of all national education in Ireland, the denial of learning to the whole people save the garrison of the Protestant ascendancy, was a policy far-reaching in the history of the Irish nation. There is no other instance of a race subjected to this peculiar doom, that every student who would not abandon his nationality and his religion, must seek education in exile: while the remnant in their own land were to be deprived of all the aid that knowledge, association in learning, or cultivated leaders could give them. Historians have dwelt on the injury done to France by the expulsion of the Huguenot weavers and artisans. That act was not comparable in its extent, its sustained cruelty, or its national consequences, with the driving out of the best intelligence and character of Ireland. The torrent 1677.

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 52.

of emigration carried off all the ablest and most high-spirited Irishmen. Scattered over Europe and divided among all its nations, they were split up and weakened in that great dispersion, and merged in the surrounding peoples. The only refuge of the banished scholar was the monastery; there generation after generation died, to be replaced by ever new exiles from home. Whole families were lost for ever to Ireland, their gifts and learning extinguished. While they lived, their scholarship was at the service of continental peoples. No country has ever suffered such a banishment, not only of its industry but of its learning. No princes who ever claimed a territory have cast out from it such a wealth of intellect and treasures of the mind, to endow foreign nations.

We have seen the efforts of learned Irishmen, even in the absence of a university, to give the higher education to Irish youths. But no patriot scholar could henceforth hope to work in Ireland. Englishmen, if they were of Irish birth and devotion, shared in the outlawry and banishment of the mere Irish. Take the race of the Whites, whose origin and blood is unknown. Victor White in Clonmel would rather sacrifice goods and life than betray a priest and fellow country-man. Richard White lord of Loghil lost goods and freedom for refusing the oath of supremacy to an English prince. Sir Dominick

and Sir Andrew White sacrificed possessions and home for the national faith. The Jesuit Stephen White[1] of Clonmel, a most renowned professor, nicknamed a Polyhistor and a Walking Library, was one of the group of scholars who by their learning refuted the malicious slanders of English traducers of their country: educated at Salamanca, rector of a college at Cassel, he laboured among the Irish manuscripts preserved in German universities. Balthazar White was distinguished at Nantes. The Oratorian John White, with the title of Rector of the Academy, lectured at Nantes on Theology with great success. John White the Jesuit was worshipped as a god, said the president of Munster, between Kilkenny, Waterford, and Clonmel, and was the chief preacher and strength of the Catholics; his success may be measured by the hatred of the English and the busy tongues of informers: "he said," according to these men of infamy, "over in Bristol that he would be our inquisitor in England to burn a thousand in England for religion!"[2] Thomas White passed to Spain to found the Irish college of Salamanca, and Peter White ruled over that of Lisbon.

1575-1647.

1577.

At this time the old Irish establishments, which had been founded hundreds of years

[1] Camb. Ev. i. 95, ed. Kelly, 1848; Hogan, Ibernia Ignat. 229.

[2] Brady, St. Pap. 22.

before by travelling scholars and missionaries in Germany, had either fallen or passed into the hands of other nations, German and Scotch.[1] On the cunning plea that they were "Scot" foundations, Bishop Leslie secured from Rudolf II. the Irish monastery in Vienna and that of Eichstätt; two in Cologne had also been granted away, and Erfurt was also given to the Scotch. The founders of these monasteries had in old time gone out as leaders of learning, with the wealth of Ireland at their service. Now starving exiles wandered abroad to pray for education. It was a veritable Exodus. They went to Spain and Lisbon, to the new college at Rome founded by Loyola, to the colleges of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, Prague, Rome, Capranica near Viterbo, and Boulay in Lorraine.[2] Donnell Spaniagh, the head of the MacMurroughs, was
1572. so called from having been educated in Spain.[3] Edmund O'Donnell was a scholar at Lisbon,[4] and so was the son of James Fitzmaurice. We see the wanderings and struggles of a poor
1583. student in the story of Christopher Roche of Wexford. A youth of 22, he took passage from Wexford to Bordeaux,[5] was porter in Guienne college for a year, taught children

[1] For foreign schools and scholars see the accounts in Bellesheim, vol. ii.

[2] Soc. of Ant., Sept. 1893, p. 239.

[3] Ib. N.S. vol. i. 3, p. 99.

[4] C.S.P. 1572, 472.

[5] C.S.P. 1591, 455.

Latin for six months at a school near Libourne, studied eight months among the scholars at Toulouse, and at colleges in Paris for a year and a half: then went to Lorraine for three years, and to Antwerp, Brussels, Douai, St. Ouen —in all eight years of wandering, sometimes serving for his living, and studying when he had money for food. Some parents were still able to pay for their sons. Others obtained benefices granted by the Court of Faculties, and used them not for Oxford or Cambridge but to send their children abroad, who "were trained up in Spain and Flanders, not in our schools and universities." Dermod O'Hurley b. 1519. of Limerick, son of a wealthy landowner and steward of Desmond, and of Honora O'Brien of Thomond, was sent abroad for study in Henry's reign, graduated and taught as professor in Louvain, became doctor of theology and law in Paris, and studied for four years in the new school of canon law at Rheims. He was distinguished in Rome as mathematician, philosopher, and learned in the laws, and at the age of sixty-two was consecrated by Gregory XIII. to the 1581. dangerous post of archbishop of Cashel—another of the long line of Irishmen in whom years of exile only deepened the martyr's passion for their country.

The flight never ceased. An Irish priest, John Lee, led a little group of students from 1578.

Ireland,[1] who after a stormy week at sea reached Brittany, and were welcomed in Paris, first in the college Montaigu and then in that of Navarre, until the president of the parliament of Paris, baron von Lescalopier, hired a house for Irish
1605. scholars in the rue de Sèvres. "To us," wrote the Irish, "he was all in all; we, banished for religion, will ever remember how he brought us from a miserable corner into a large room, how he increased our means and our students, and brought us before the public." Lee was succeeded by Messingham, famous author of the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, but the college fell into bitter poverty, and four Irish bishops sent out a prayer to the French Catholics and the University to help its work. In Spain Irish
1582. refugees who were without means of study, or knowledge of the language to earn their bread, were gathered by Thomas White of Clonmel
1588. into a house given by Philip II., which as the college of Salamanca became the first Irish
1592. foundation in Spain, *El Real Colegio de Nobles Irelandeses*. The college was controlled by the Jesuits, Thomas White and James Archer, and
1605. Richard Conway a Franciscan. Conway brought over scholars from Valladolid, and opposed Archer, who fetched new students from home, for favouring the south of Ireland rather than the north. Irish priests had already founded

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 217-23. *v.* app.

an Irish school in Lisbon, which twenty years later became S. Patrick's college under John Holing, who brought to it thirty boys. Two years after Don Antonio Ximenez gave them a house and money for the maintenance of fourteen students, and Peter White passed from Spain to Lisbon to superintend this college. About the same time the seminary of Douay was formed by an Irish priest, Christopher Cusack, who drew into a common life the Irish students there, and received a grant from the Spanish Crown. Other Irish colleges were founded at Prague, Alcala, Genoa, Antwerp, Tournai, Lille, Louvain, and Rome. 1573. 1593. 1595. 1594. 1590-1625.

The records of this great dispersion have still to be gathered together. Fifty years after Elizabeth's death over 30,000 Irish, besides those banished to the Bermudas and the West Indies, were wandering in various parts of Europe.[1] We may be assured that among the permanent miseries inflicted on the Irish there was none so profound or so irreparable as the condemning of the nation to a foreign education, wholly detached from the inheritance of their fathers, from their language, literature, history, and all the emotions and traditions that ennoble a race. The list of famous scholars sent forth by Ireland showed the passion with which her sons sought knowledge: but they now wrote as they studied in a

[1] H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 376. *v.* app.

foreign tongue. Even the devoted Irish Franciscans of Louvain suffered the change made by a strange soil. "They are not only bringing to light every day the more abstruse vernacular documents, but translating them *from the rugged obscurity of an obsolete idiom into elegant Latin.*"[1] The fervent patriot thought to save his national literature by translation into the cosmopolitan language of Europe. But Europe had already renounced a common language and declared, with modern applause, for the national tongue as the only vehicle of the thought of a people. After the tragedy of a hundred years of fierce persecution, the destruction of Irish education, the forcing of the people into continental schools, we hear in this sentence the last desperate appeal of a nation to a foreign tongue and a foreign ideal. There was a long and brilliant roll of Irishmen distinguished for their learning, Father David Wolfe, Father Richard Fleming, and many more,[2] whose erudition was praised even by Englishmen while they wrote in Latin. The reproach was lifted off Latin authors, since Ireland would not gain the fame of their reputation nor the honour of their training. Their country in fact profited nothing from their learning.

We may indeed say that it suffered in a very profound sense. Cosmopolitans by compulsion,

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 379. [2] Hol. 57-66; Ware's Writers.

the foreign-bred scholars were too often fashioned to a formal European pattern, without the spirit which then flamed in every European people—the courage of a strong and growing nationality. Men trained abroad from childhood in foreign prejudices and conventions, detached from their own people in all the essential matters of tradition and literature, would return to their own land too often in a sense aliens, knowing nothing of a civilisation of which they had not been taught to interpret the language, the history, or the evidences. Nurtured in European capitals, they were horrified at the destitution and wretchedness of the remnant of the Irish scarcely escaped from famine and massacre; dazzled by the Imperial theories of Spain and England and Rome, they were blinded to the virtues, as to the hopes, of a national struggle of the Irish people. By a curious perversion of misfortune, men deprived of a country of their own and the steadying force of its affections, have always been found liable to drift into instinctive rancour against patriotic aspirations elsewhere, and willing to level others to their own estate. It was the foreign-bred scholar who knew his country not at all, or only under the worst catastrophes of war, who appealed to the Irish to abandon their nationality and the law and customs of which he was ignorant, to accept the English land-tenure, the English mode of succession, the English dress

and speech, the English dominion in all things.

If on the other hand he resisted the new imperial views of England, it was in the name, not of his native country, but of the old imperial views of Rome. Against England proclaiming her exclusive commerce, speech, and law, he opposed the Roman Empire with its powerful tradition of a universal language and discipline and law. In such wide dreams, in the tempting vision of the kingdoms of the earth and their glory, the lament of the Irish people was but a cry carried on the wind.

Sometimes the two imperial theories joined hands; and arguments from Roman law were used to enforce the authority of the English crown. Returned controversialists urged the theory, so antagonistic to the immemorial law of Ireland, that only from polluted sinks of heretics could come the idea that the people might elect a ruler, and confer supreme authority on whomsoever pleased them: they proclaimed the prescriptive right of a prince who has possession of a country and administers its government, reaching indeed to a Divine right, though originally he had no title to it, and was guilty of gross injustice in invading and occupying it.[1] Denationalised as they were, the Irish theory of national rights was lost in a more material view. The spirit of the strangers is illustrated in Archbishop Creagh, who

[1] Camb. Ev. iii. 69.

had studied abroad from childhood at outland men's costs: "my power from my youth hitherto was (as I thought) always spent for to serve the crown of England, as of nature and duty I was bound, knowing and also declaring in diverse places the joyful life that Irishmen have under England (*nothing so plucked of their good*, as by sundry ways other princes' subjects are oppressed in other countries), *if they were good and true in themselves*." This was the Creagh who rated Shane O'Neill, and prayed for "some other of that country, to whom God give grace to be true to his *natural* Queen and crown of England, whom the Lord God maintain now and ever."[1]

A new and subtle division was thus introduced among all educated men of Irish birth. It had always been the policy of the English to vanquish the Irish by setting disunion among them. First the tribal system was used to make variance and draw one sept into war with another. When the tribes were obliterated to make way for the planters' settlements, a new quarrel was attempted by seeking to awaken race hatred between Irish and Anglo-Irish, so long united as one people. And when both races had joined in resistance and by a merciless war had been "brayed together in a mortar" and alike cast out to make way for the plantations, then a fresh dissension was created—the intellectual

[1] Creagh to Cecil, Shirley's Orig. Letters, 171.

chasm that separated the foreign-bred from the home-keeping Irishman. The Irish students, denied the ordinary courses of learning, were confronted with the literary gentlemen from abroad, fortified by the current conventions of that foreign world; and the social prestige of the disputants was ingeniously used to appraise the justice of their cause, its wisdom and patriotism. Well might Bacon indulge in hopes of the final success of Elizabeth's plots against the Irish people: "She shall have time to use her princely policy . . . to weaken them . . . by division and disunion of the heads."[1]

Even in these straits there remained a band of workers for the preservation of Irish learning. They laboured under many sorrows. "Of each one that shall read this book," wrote the laborious compiler of the O'Gara manuscript, "and observe aught that in the same is wrongly written or omitted, I crave pardon that they will not blame me, seeing that I had not any to teach me these things. The poor brother O.S.A. frater Fergal O'Gara."[2] And again: "12th of February at Lisle in the Low Country 1656; here I break off until morning, and I in gloom and grief; and during my life's

[1] Bacon to Essex, Works, 1841, p. 17.

[2] O'Grady, Cat. 360-1. A collection of historical Irish poems from A.D. 1030 to 1630—compiled at Antwerp and Lisle by Black Fergal O'Gara (1659), a priest driven out of Ireland. O'Grady, Cat. 339.

length unless only that I might have one look at Ireland. Fergal O'Gara of the Augustinian order."[1] Scholars had to lament that they were still left without a perfect dictionary compiled from their ancient and modern manuscripts, and that from the depressed state of the country, and the increasing apathy of the natives, the present generation might pass away without seeing one.[2] The tradition of their ancient law seemed itself perishing. "As the laws themselves have been long excluded from the courts they would have fallen into oblivion, if a small number of persons, inspired by an innate zeal to save their native language from ruin, had not resolved to study them," seeking by their voluntary exertions to avert the effect of English penal enactments.[3]

It was the Franciscans, those old friends of the Irish people, who at Louvain[4] became the centre of the most intense national feeling, and as it seemed the last refuge of Irish learning. A number of native Irish speakers seem to have gathered there for mutual comfort and support. "It is thus that the English language is labouring to deprive the Irish of its ancient splendour, if some Irishmen who have not received their native language from books but absorbed it from nature, who have not learned it from masters but imbibed it from their

[1] O'Grady, Cat. 357.
[2] Camb. Ev. ii. 379, n.
[3] Camb. Ev. ii. 375.
[4] *v.* app.

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nurse, who have not picked it up in schools but drank it in with their mother's milk, had not resolved to retain it rather than learn a stranger tongue from six hundred commentaries and schoolmasters."[1] A fervent Irish feeling was preserved with the Irish language. Informers reported that James Archer of Kilkenny "did
1577. swear against Her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and *to read not in no English book*."[2] Dr. Quemerford and Chanter Walsh of Waterford were among its scholars. "There are a great number of students of this city in Louvain at the charge of their friends and fathers." In
1605. yet darker days O'Hussey, student of the Irish college of St. Antony of Padua at Louvain, afterwards author of various Irish writings in prose and verse, wrote in Irish from Douay to Father Robert Nugent at Louvain, that though invited to pursue his studies at Salamanca and Valladolid he would prefer Louvain as the best place for the acquirement of learning, and where he would be with the son of the exiled earl of Tyrone and with Father Robert himself.[3]

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 375-7. Lynch adds a historical parallel as an appeal to English tradition and generosity. "The grand object of their zeal has been to keep it alive, like the Anglo-Saxon monks of the monastery of Tavistock, who formerly took the English language under their protection, and established Saxon lectures in their monastery, lest the knowledge of the language might be lost."

[2] Brady, St. Pap. 22.

[3] Fac. Nat. MSS. iv. i, lxxviii, Plate xxxiv; O'Grady, Cat. 407.

When calamity even more overwhelming fell on the "battered" country of Ireland, the hopes of scholars still turned to the sheltered remnant at Louvain. "The labours of the Reverend Fathers of the order of St. Francis in the 1650.
college of Louvain will we hope once more revive the Irish language. . . . We have already seen many books printed in the Irish type at the press of this college, and we are expecting soon from the same source a copious Irish dictionary which some of the same fathers are said to be compiling. . . . Those fathers stood forward when she (Ireland) was reduced to the greatest distress, nay threatened with certain destruction, and vowed that the memory of the glorious deeds of their ancestors should not be consigned to the same earth that covered the bodies of her children. May the wisdom of God be ever praised and adored for inspiring those fathers with the resolve that the ancient glory of Ireland should not be entombed by the same convulsion which deprived the Irish of the lands of their fathers and of all their property."[1]

[1] Camb. Ev. ii. 379-81.

IRISH SCHOLARS IN PRAGUE[1]

I have to thank Mr. R. I. Best for the following interesting list of Irish professors and students in Prague, which I give as an illustration of the flight of the Irish to Europe. Similar lists from other universities on the Continent would give an idea of the immense dispersion. The list is taken from "Catalogus admodùm Reverendorum . . . patrum professorum ex diversis religionibus scilicet RR. PP. Hibernorum, Praemonstratensium, Cisterciensium, Benedictinorum, . . . Franciscanorum Nivensium, tam philosophiam, quàm Theologiam, et controversias in Celeberrimo Collegio Archi-Episcopali Pragensi, ab anno 1635 usque ad annum 1697, docentium, et ex Cathedris hujus Collegij ad Praelaturas, abbatias, praeposituras, et ad alias in Religionibus Promotiones assumptorum." In the first list of professors the names of the chairs they filled (Philosophy and Theology) are omitted, and some other particulars.

The Antony Gernon among the students is probably the writer of the "Parrthas an Anma" or "Paradise of the Soul," pub. 1645.

NOMINA PROFESSORUM, philosophiam, & theologiam in Archi-Episcopali Collegio, ex Collegio Imaculatæ Conceptionis B.V. Mariæ ad S. Ambrosium PP. Hibernorum Neo-Pragæ ab anno 1635 usque ad annum 1693 docentium.

P. Malachias Fallonus, Killconelensis . . . Obiit Anno 1651. 9 Jan.

Eduardus Tyrellus.

Franciscus Ferallus.

Patritius Wardæus, Senior.

Franciscus Flemingus.

Paulus Frair.

[1] *v.* app.

Jacobus Geraldinus.
Bernardinus Gavocus.
Joannes Barnavall.
Franciscus Wardæus.
Antonius Gavan, Professor Philosophiæ, Missionarius Apostolicus in Scotia Minori.
Ludovicus Connæus . . . Ob. 14 Aprilis, Anno 1652, sepultus est in Collegio Immaculatæ Conceptionis Pragæ.
Bernardinus Clanchy, . . . 27 Annis Professor. . . Ob. 5 Maii 1684. Aetatis suæ 72.
Daniel Bruoder . . . Ob. 1687, 30 Sep. Aetatis 86.
Bernardinus Higginus . . . 13 annis Plasij Prof. Theologiæ.
Antonius Donelly, docuit philosophiam & theologiam multis annis in Seminario Archi-Episcopali. . . . Ob. 20 Maij, Anno 1682, ætatis 70.
Antonius Ferallus . . . per 20 aliquot annos docuit theologiam in Seminario, per 9 annos erat theologiæ professor primarius . . . Mortuus est 12 Januarij, anno 1681. Ætatis 63.
Antonius de Burgo.
Franciscus Haroldus.
Andreas Vitalis.
Joannes Brady.
Bonaventura Bruodinus. Prof. Philosophiæ & Theologiæ 15 annis. Pro fide obijt in carceribus Dublinij.
Bonaventura ô Conorus.
Franciscus Fenellus.
Antonius Bruodinus.
Patritius Wardæus, Junior, philosophiæ & theologiæ per 14 annos in Collegio . . . professor. . . . Obijt anno 1678 ætatis 56.
Philippus ô Reily . . . Ob. anno 1680 die 28 Maij, ætatis 40.

Joannes Clanchy . . . Obijt 1680, 19 Octobris. Aetatis 50.

Bonaventura ô Kelly.

Franciscus ô Neill . . . bis Pragæ Guardianus. . . . . Ob. Pragæ 1696 . . . Aetatis 51.

Petrus Ferallus . . . sæpe Guardianus.

Franciscus Ma-Kenna . . . 5 annis docuit in Seminario theologiam. Ob. 1684 . . . Aetatis 39.

Franciscus Philippinus de Burgo.

Bonaventura de Burgo.

Petrus Marianus Murry. Bononiæ docuit theologiam speculativam 4 annis, & in Colleg. Archi-Episc. per 9 annos, adjunctâ morali per 5 annos, Lector Jubilatus, eandem in Monasterio Waldsassiensi in Palatinatu per duos annos docuit, dein Guardianus Pragensis.

Michaël Deane . . . Guardianus Lovaniensis. Ob. anno 1697, 4 Aprilis.

Bernardinus Gavanus . . . nunc Guardianus Lovaniensis.

Antonius Morphy.

Joannes Scotus.

Bonaventura ô Flyn.

Ludovicus ô Neill.

NOMINA ALIQUORUM, qui in Collegio Archi-Episcopali Pragensi, Ex Collegio PP. Hibernorum studuerunt, Qui fortè vivunt, Antiquiores verò recensere perlongum foret.

P. Jacobus Taaffe, Lector Jubilatus, Reginæ Angliæ Confessionibus, ac in Regno Hiberniæ Nuntius Apostolicus.

Daniel Clery.

Hugo Grajus.

Antonius Geoghean, SS. Theologiæ Lector, & Episcopus Cluinmacnosensis.

Jacobus Coghlanus, Lector Jubilatus, Guardianus Pragæ, & Cladrubij diu Professor.

Antonius ô Neill, in Hibernia Diffinitor, Custos, Vice-Commissarius, quatuor vicibus Guardianus Armachanus.

Franciscus Sweiny.

Bernardinus Plunkett, bis Guardianus, & semel Diffinitor.

Paulus ô Neill, Diffinitor & sæpe Guardianus.

Bonaventura de Burgo, Vicarius Hierosolymitanus, SS. Theologiæ Lector actualis in Bethlehem.

Antonius Kelly.

Franciscus Conorus, SS. Theologiæ Lector emeritus, Guardianus Romanus.

Ludovicus Mac-Namara, SS. Theologiæ Lector Jubilatus, & Guardianus Pragensis.

Franciscus Wallis, Theologiæ Lector Jubilatus, Guardianus, & Diffinitor in Apulia.

Franciscus Magnesius, bis Guardianus.

Andreas Eganus, bis Guardianus, & Diffinitor.

Franciscus ô Donoghue, Theologiæ Lector actualis.

Malachias Breen, Theologiæ Lector.

Michaël Landy, do.

Paulus Wardæus, do.

Bernardus Lorcan, do.

Franciscus de Burgo, do.

Franciscus Gualaghan, do.

Joannes Coghlanus, Guardianus Athloniensis.

Joannes Lorcan, Theologiæ Lector.

Antonius Moloy.

Joannes Contuly.

Michaël Sweiny.

Franciscus Ma-Gauly, Theologiæ Lector actualis.

Jacobus Quin.

Franciscus ô Deulin, Waldassij in Palatinatu, & Pragæ SS. Theologiæ Lector.

Bonaventura Conway, Philosophiæ Lector.
Petrus Junius, Romæ Philosophiæ Lector.
Petrus ô Neill.
Antonius Murry.
Antonius Gernon.
Andreas Dowdall.
Joannes Cusak.
Josephus ô Brien.
Antonius de Burgo.
Antonius ô Bryne.
Bartholomæus Skerrett.
Andreas Fallonus.
Antonius Conorus.
Marcus Greefy.

XIII.

THE POLITICAL MYTH AND ITS EFFECTS.

We have traced the activity of Ireland in the later middle ages, both in its industrial and its intellectual life.

In commerce we have seen its people trading from Naples to the Orkneys and to Dantzic, every Irish port busy in a wide traffic, and men both of Anglo-Norman and of Irish blood growing wealthy in their frequent mercantile adventures. The rich dress of the people, in town and country, showed the wealth of their trade, and with the sumptuous stuffs and embroideries of the Mediterranean commerce came the spices and wines and carpets of the Levant, salt, and the indispensable iron of Spain. For the luxuries they imported they paid with the raw produce of their country; with the fruits of their tillage, and with abundance of manufactured goods; their famous serges, the soft rugs or blankets of their beds, even their much-maligned cloaks being famed from London to Naples.

Behind this export trade lay the organised industry of a people. The inland traffic passed

along frequented, even "noisy" roads, over bridges, and along waterways to Irish fairs, where the Irish took "great profit"; and dealers carried wine over mountain tracks in barrels slung across horses, and brought back bales of linen and woollen goods. A deserted valley near Lough Lene, lying between rounded hills of gorse and steep limestone cliffs, holds the fine Norman ruins of Fore, on an ancient trade-route from the Shannon eastwards, not far from the O'Reilly land. There we may still trace how the monasteries along the lines of commerce extended their warehouses, and fortified their stores, and how towns built their walls, with great gates on either side for the traffic, and set up their termon crosses, and enlarged their mills. In the ruin of Fore nothing is now left to the people but the well of S. Fechin issuing from the bare rock, and his grave-yard.

It has been shewn too how the land system lent itself to husbandry. "There were no better earth-tillers nor more obedient than they be," Henry VIII. was told, which was indeed proved by the long and profitable export of corn from Ireland. Property was respected, and the land elaborately portioned out, if we accept the English account. The freeholders' security of tenure, the tenants' short leases, frequently renewed, which seem to have had a democratic value, the right of pasture over heath and mountain gave

to the people a real hold on the soil and independence. The farmer was protected by definite laws (which were recognised and observed) against a rapacious landlord or an extortionate chief; so that wars of the poor in self-defence against the rich formed no part of Irish troubles. Taxation was regulated by custom in the minutest detail; there is not a single instance of a tribe asking help of the English against its lawful chief, and levies made by force practically denoted a usurper. The landed gentry —whether men of the chieftain's house, or officials, or professors of learning, or soldiers— were skilled agriculturists, and famed for their good tillage and housekeeping. The plenty of their houses, their hospitality, and their wealth, show the capable conduct of their business. Their dwellings, of stone or of good woodwork, were gay with crimson hangings—in Galway with tapestries and worked bed-lappets—their food and drink abundant and varied. "As to the surmise of bruteness of the people and incivility of them, no doubt if there were justice used among them they would be found as civil, wise, and polite, and as active as any other nation." "I have been of this opinion ere now," the Master of the Rolls asserted, "that Irishmen were more conformable to good order than divers of the king's English subjects, and kept their oaths better." "For Irishmen keeping

their pacts," said Sentleger, "I know not wherein they have greatly broken them: but perchance if Englishmen being there were well examined, they all keep not their promises"; he himself was not allowed to speak them fair, or yet minister them justice, "whereby much marvel it is they be so good as they are."[1] They are obedient to the laws, so that you may travel through all the land without any danger or injury offered of the very worst Irish, and be greatly relieved of the best."[2]

In the towns we have seen differences of race obliterated, and the rise of a genuine Anglo-Irish civilisation, in which both races were gradually united in a common patriotism. City traders depended on the country, and the country youths of the "mere Irish" flocked into the cities to share in their commerce, passing from apprentices to full merchants in the continental trade. In the traffic of an earlier time, Frankish wines were sold at Clonmacnois and Tara, and "Munster of the great riches" gloried in the swift ships of "the fleet of the Munstermen"; commerce increased with Danish and Norman settlements, and the union of the peoples, rooted in a common interest and love of country, was rewarded by a great and expanding prosperity.

If we turn from the material to the intellectual

[1] St. P. III. iii. 256-60, 571-2.

[2] Ir. Arch. Journ. 1841. Payne.

side of Ireland's life, the same activity is present. A continuous intercourse, whether of trade or travel or scholarly studies or pilgrimage, kept Ireland in close touch with Europe. This is made evident by the translations into Irish of continental books, and by the familiarity of Irish doctors and astronomers and lawyers with the work done in the leading schools of Europe. The knowledge of Latin spread through the commercial as well as the learned classes: the women were educated, patrons of learning, fine dispensers of benevolence, fit to be entrusted with public duties of arbitration. Country schools of the old type were maintained in vigorous work, and town schools were added of a more modern sort, but of equal ardour, to which the Irish country gentry came to learn English and Latin with the townspeople. There was no lack of Irish effort to create an Irish University. The national culture was inspired by the idea of the unity of the Irish people in the spiritual and intellectual life—a unity which in times of comparative independence began to show itself in the political sphere.

It is thus evident from the records of contemporary history that the Irish, before the catastrophe of the commercial invasion under the Tudors, had reached a high degree of industry and wealth—that they had a flourishing commerce, a considerable culture, and a life tempered by the arts.

We have followed also the doom of this civilisation. In "the expansion of England," traders, younger sons, and soldiers out of employ looked across the water to this land of "infinite commodities." Lured not only by its gold mines, but by its wealth of wool and its goodly havens, economists saw "a nation and kingdom to transfer unto the superfluous multitude of fruitless and idle people here at home daily increasing." So opened "the godly conquest" of Irish trade. The scheme was fully mapped out under Henry VIII. The whole of the inhabitants were to be exiled, and the countries made vacant and waste for English peopling; "then the king might say Ireland was clearly won, and after that he would be at little cost and receive great profits, and men and money at pleasure." There would be no such difficulty, Henry's advisers said, to "subdue or exile them as hath been thought," for lands settled by the English would be centres from which the plantations could be spread into the surrounding territories, and the Irishry steadily pushed back at last into the sea.

Henceforth the English never wavered from their intention to "exterminate and exile the country people of the Irishry." "It were good with the sword," some held, "to destroy all the inhabitants of that realm for their wickedness, and to inhabit the land with new." Whether the

Irish submitted or not, the king was to people the country with English blood: it would be a livelihood for younger sons of English families who had little or nothing to spend there: some lands also "shall not need to be inhabited with Englishmen but may be mixed with divers born in the English Pale": and some "poor earth-tillers of the Irish" could be retained, "which be good inhabitants." For in moments of difficulty the English admitted that the land was large, and to people the whole with new inhabiters no prince christened could commodiously spare so many subjects to depart out of his realm; which would be a marvellous sumptuous charge, and great difficulty, considering the hardness and misery those Irishmen can endure both of hunger, cold, thirst, and evil lodging, and to eat roots and drink water continually. On the other hand if they were subdued and all their weapons and harness and their own captains taken from them, then strong garrisons might for ever keep them in subjection, as miners and fishers and diggers of the ground.

It was for this "perfecting" of Ireland therefore that harbours were blockaded, and English fleets lay round the coasts, while English garrisons held every haven town. Troops were poured into the country; themselves fed by the corn of Danzic and the fish of Newfoundland, they were charged to exterminate a people by famine, and

"reform Ireland by replenishing it with English inhabitants." The soldiers prepared the way for speculators, who held royal licenses to seize all the yarn and wool of the country, to engross all its corn, to capture all the carrying trade. While the continental trade of Ireland was destroyed, commercial laws and a debased system of coinage drew to London the profits of her English trade. So thorough was the work of "reformation," that before it was complete the flourishing towns of Ireland sank into ruins, the people lay dead in thousands upon the fields, and the new planters used even the former chiefs "to bear and draw with their fellows."

For complete subjection it was also held that the mind of the people must be atrophied—and the destruction of their law, history, language, poetry, followed as a matter of course. How easily literature is disturbed we may see from its interruption for a century and a half[1] after the Norman invasion in England. In Ireland there was mere annihilation. Schools in town and country were broken up, books destroyed, professors of learning slain or turned out to beggary. No Irish University was allowed: Irishmen were permitted or forbidden to study at Oxford as it suited the imperial policy. There was no attempt to replace the old learning which had been destroyed by any new study. The

[1] Ker, Med. Liter. 1-3.

printing-press, when it had issued some treason proclamations, a Protestant catechism, a Bible, lay idle. The education offered to the Irish by England, was the same as that offered to Greece at that time by the Turks[1]—a tribute of children to be separated from every tie of country and of race, trained in the imperial conqueror's religion, and enrolled in the imperial service. "The manhood of a tormented people can fight against every plague of Egypt except the last; but there could be no future for Greece while every household in the land, where the voice of children was heard, lay under the continual shadow of a power which not only rent asunder the bonds of national loyalty and of natural affection, but which forced parent and child alike to believe that in this world and in the world to come they were divided by an impassable abyss."

The Irish suffered a further calamity. The memory of their former civilization was deliberately blotted out as though it had never existed. Another story was given to the world —a picture gloomy and savage, and stained with every vice and folly. Circulated by adventurers and planters, renewed by English exploiters and Protestant fanatics, by historians and politicians and journalists, through sheer

[1] *v.* Jebb's Modern Greece, 39-42. Cf. Emmet, Ireland under English Rule, ii. 216-8; *v.* app.

repetition it has passed as it were into the common creed of Englishmen. The growth of this political myth, its planting and watering through seven centuries, has been a stupendous fact in Irish history.

The misrepresentation of the Irish people began with the first efforts at conquest. Gerald of Wales, the most lively and dashing author of his time, precursor of the modern journalist,[1] opened the long system of slander—"the lying bull of the herd," as Keating called him. The usual credulities of a conquering race, its large ignorances and boastful superiorities, left the foreign invaders of Ireland victims of many notable errors and delusions, and Gerald's stories were in full circulation five hundred years later.[2] Irishmen and "all those that favour their beastliness" remained to the invaders through the changing generations "our natural enemies." Their customs were "damnable," their ancient

[1] Green's Short History, 119.

[2] Gerald's work, written in 1186, was translated into English in the fifteenth century. Fac. Nat. MSS. III. xxxviii. "I find," wrote Lynch in the seventeenth, "the calumnies of which he is the author published in the language and writings of every nation, no new geography, no history of the world, no work on the manners and customs of different nations appearing in which his calumnious charges against the Irish are not chronicled as undoubted facts; no map engraved whose margins are not defiled with a thousand silly blunders on Ireland; and all these repeated again and again till the heart sickens at the sight." Camb. Ev. i. 107. *v.* Keating's preface to his history.

law "hateful to God." "The people are such as Satan himself cannot exceed in subtlety, treachery, and cruelty."[1] So officials wrote in endless succession. "The poor fools as a menye of brute beasts lived under the miserable rule of their ungodly Irish lords."[2] English officials and soldiers in the Tudor wars sent to court scoffing reports of their courage and training: "the rebels' heels exceed their hearts." Their patriotism was rebellion: their courage in defence of home and country a beastly fury.[3] The proud endurance of an Irish chief meant no more to an English adventurer than a "glym silent look, which by use he hath framed to the conformity of his wicked disposition."

We have already seen the frequent charges that the Irish had no sense of property, nothing but a transitory and scambling possession, and a common life of thieving; so that the people

[1] C.S.P. 1580, 249. [2] Bagwell, ii. 123.

[3] "Quod si Hibernos bestias appellet, meminisse illum opportuit, se ac suos bestiarios esse, ac bustiarios gladiatores, qui quasi ad bestias damnati cum iis pugna congrediuntur." "If then he call the Irish *beasts*," said Dr. Lynch in his onslaught on the traducers, "it behoved him to remember that he and his are *bestiary* and *bustiary* sworders, who fight with them like Romans in the circus, doomed (yea *damned*) to the *beasts*." Camb. Ev. ii. 249. The vigorous author remembers Cicero, who uses the term *bustuarius*: he finds it a good term, not on account of any particular meaning in it, but because it sounds well, and because it is Ciceronian scolding: pretty certainly also on account of associations in sound with 'busteousness' and 'robustious.'

built no houses, nor had gardens nor orchards, nor knew how to till the ground, until the English came to give them security of tenure; that they scarcely wore any clothes save a filthy cloak, nor had the ordinary habits of civilized people; that they had no industries, and had never even got so far as to make a trade in wool and wool-felts; that none of these disorderly people would ever learn a trade,[1] and so excelled in "their savage and idle life" that "the wild beasts were indeed less wild and hurtful than they."

Thus on every side stories were spread abroad of Irish rudeness. Calumny had full way. If an Irish chief manifestly kept good order, word went round that it was "not to the intent that his subjects should escape harmless, but to the intent to devour them by himself."

As for their religion, the nation was "universally drowned in infidelity," or "idolatry," but anyhow it was not Christian. Their delight was to raid churches.[2] "They exercise no virtue

[1] The skill and industry of the Irish in their poverty are illustrated by Ann McGinty "a woman of great energy and self-reliance," "very ingenious," who brought the first spinning-wheel to Kentucky, and made the first linen there of lint of nettles and buffalo wool.

[2] Dr. Mahaffy, who sees in Shane O'Neill a Zulu or Maori chief, with a retinue of armed savages, says he burned Armagh Cathedral not from a hatred of Christianity, but merely from the uncontrolled love of plunder shown by barbarians in all ages. (Ch. of Ire. Gazette, Mar. 1907.) Shane

nor yet refrain nor forbear any vice . . . as thereby should seem they neither love nor dread God, nor yet hate the Devil." "*It hath been* 1576 *preached* publicly before me," said Sidney, with the large ignorance of an English deputy of Irish life, "that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them, and truly I believe it."[1] Lord deputy Sidney had seen tens of thousands of outcasts die in Munster: he could not find—this courtier conqueror coming with his foreign tongue—"that they make any conscience of sin, and doubtless I doubt whether they christen their children or no, for neither find I place where it should be done nor any person able to instruct them in the rules of a Christian; or if they should be taught, I see in them no

attacked the cathedral when the Earl of Sussex had turned it into a barrack, and when he had further, by a lying trick, re-filled it with the soldiers he had by treaty pledged himself to withdraw. The churches which O'Conor burned in Meath in 1362, fourteen of them, were holding English garrisons. O'Grady, Cat. 359. Perhaps some story of a fatal conflict between religious traditions and military necessities lies in the quaint lament over an Irish king (1311): "Donough O'Brien that never raided a church: how comes it then that he is even now fallen? Raiding of churches what profit to abstain from? Ireland's head has not for that lasted one whit the longer." O'Grady, Cat. 333-4; Richey Lect. ii. 60; *v.* app.

[1] Sidney's Letters, 25, 112. The charges that the Irish did not christen, marry, or bury, depended in great part on their refusal to pay dues for these services to foreign clergy. The dues were paid, and the services performed in secret by their own priests. In marriage further complications arose out of their use of canon law and of Irish law, both of which the English found it convenient to deny.

grace to follow it; and when they die, I cannot see they make any account of the world to come," or, as Chichester put it, "They are generally so stupid by nature, or so taught and disposed by their priests, as they show no remorse of conscience or fear of death"; in other words, thousands of Irishmen went to the hanging impenitent of the crime of having defended their country.[1] A fragment of an epistle was found with a monk's story that a grave gentleman came to him to be confessed, who in all his life had never received the Blessed Sacrament, and being asked whether he were faultless of homicide said he never knew it to be a sin, "but being instructed thereof, he confessed the murder of five, the rest he left wounded, so as he knew not whether they lived or no. Then was he taught that both the one and the other were execrable, and very meekly humbled himself to repentance."[2] A

[1] Sid. Let. 25. Chichester's account of an O'Kane executed by justice of the civil law: "Which was a kind of death seldom or never seen in these parts of Ulster before this time, and seems to terrify them more than that of hanging by martial law: a death which they contemn more, I think, than any other nation living." O'Grady, Cat. 461.

[2] Campion, cap. vi. Tuathal O'Gallagher, one of the most powerful sub-chiefs of Tirconnell (1541), was "a man of valour and prowess, though he never used to kill or destroy persons, for there was no battle or skirmish into which he went from which he would not bring away prisoners. The reason of his acting thus was this: one time in his youth that he was listening to a sermon and exhortation of one of

violent sermon, a torn fragment of an anonymous letter, were all the evidence the English required. The Pope had filled the Church with vicious persons, "murderers, thieves, and detestable, by whom wars had been stirred and deeds which abhor any good Christian man to hear."[1] "Neither bishop nor priest, high nor low, useth to preach the word of God, save the poor friar beggars." "There was no more Christentie than in Turkey." To judge by the evidence this seems to mean that there were no English sermons.

Many reasons may be given for the growth of these fables. One of them was no doubt the fact that deputies in Dublin, and soldiers

the friars of Donegal, he heard it inculcated that, in order to attain everlasting reward, it was not meet to kill persons, or to shed blood; wherefore he made a resolution never to wound a man, and this he always kept while he lived." 4 M. p. 1463, cf. p. 1829. Duty to animals was not forgotten. "If thou be undefiled; if thou be conscientious; if thou observe purifying baptism's law: then to men (that commit wrong) be neither meek nor mild; but animals, that follow no the laws of God or man, transgress innocently." O'Grady, Cat. 100. Cf. Mac Firbis, Annals of Irel. Three Fragments. Irish and Celt. Arch. Soc. 15; *v.* app.

[1] No doubt it was the national spirit of these Irish-born and trained clergy—these zealots for Irish against foreign law—that gave them their ill repute among the English. For example Hugh Oge O'Donnell chose a cleric famous for piety and good deeds as Official of Tirconnell and select Brehon: and Sir John Davies was forced (1607) to refer to "one of the best learned vicars in all the country, and one that had been a brehon, and had some skill in the civil and common laws." Davies, 246, D. 1787.

on the march, and foreign speculators, learned scarcely anything about the Irish people. "Ireland is not known to every one for a year or two's trial," complained an official of Henry VIII. With "no term, no certainty of years" in their "often changing," the rulers sent from England were in fact very ignorant of the country. Irish was not a language that tempted them in their brief years of passage and of exile.[1] They had no real sources of information. In Elizabeth's time a vigilant deputy, watching that there should be no holiday in honour of the national saint, was given a wrong date for St. Patrick's Day, and wrote with satisfaction that no Irishman now observed that forbidden festival. Nor did officials trouble to ascertain the meaning of the common war-cries: Desmond was crying "Papa abo," a governor wrote to the queen, "or the Pope above all, even Your Majesty."

542. In that changing scene which left John Alen after fourteen years "the oldest servant of any Englishman your Highness hath in this realm,"

[1] "A gentleman of mine acquaintance," wrote Stanihurst, "reported that he did see a woman in Rome which was possessed with a babbling spirit, that could have chatted any language saving the Irish: and that it was so difficult as the very devil was gravelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered that he took the speech to be so sacred and holy that no damned fiend had the power to speak it. . . . Nay, by God's mercy, man (quoth the other), I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the Apostles, in their copious mart of languages at Jerusalem, could have spoken Irish if they were apposed: whereat the company heartily laughed." Hol. vi. 7.

there was much "sinister information"[1]—of more hindrance, deputy Bellingham held, "than all the rebels and Irishry within the realm";[2] and so it was that "the best minister that ever was, and he that best doeth and meaneth were as good sit still as go about it."

The charges against the Irish were not brought forward as mere hap-hazard denunciations. There were solid reasons behind all of them. We have already seen how tribal land tenure rose before the English landlord as a Socialism that menaced his class, his property, and his authority, and he reviled it with becoming vehemence. The nature of men descended of English blood, even in Ireland, was pretended to be "too noble to rest satisfied with the continuance of so vile a trade of living" as this communism and "state of nature."[3] The controversy was one familiar to every age; in this instance it was carried on under the terms of feudal and tribal law, both of which were alike about to perish in these lands; and in the Irish struggle the pride of caste was embittered by pride of race.

[1] The account of Commissioners sent from England might be written to-day. St. Pap. I. iii. 132.

[2] "The King," wrote Bellingham, "hath not so great an enemy in Ireland as the Council is; and if they were hanged it were a good turn."

[3] *v.* pp. 107, 115-7; O'Conor, 125; Froude's Pilgrim, 66, *v.* pp. 106-8.

Again, some sort of excuse was needed to justify the never-ending massacres and executions and starvation of a whole people for the sake of their land, and the character of the Irish was made to serve the turn. "Rude, beastly, ignorant, cruel, and unruly infidels!" cried the plunderers. It was but the natural animosity of adventurers for those whose lands they coveted. One of the most common accusations had a practical bearing on English schemes to grab the land: they "seldom or never marry, and *therefore few of them are lawful heirs by the laws of the realm to those lands they presently possess*"; "for all the children they have in that country are bastards," ran the comprehensive charge. "They never esteemed lawful matrimony, to the end they might have *lawful heirs*."[1] Lord deputy Sidney could not find that the Irish people regarded marriage more than unreasonable beasts.[2] His description was merely the official prelude to an announcement that all Munster was to be confiscated to the English.

We must remember, too, the position of the English governor. Every deputy knew that if he wanted to keep his post or save his head, he had to write what the king and the parliament wanted to hear. A word even of supposed sympathy with the Irish was treason; it was

[1] Car. iii. xcii-iv; C.S.P. 1578, 333; Davies, D. 1787, 280.

[2] Sid. Let. 25.

treason to make a peaceful progress among them, or to win them by kindly persuasion. The adventurers demanded the land and the king his profits, and the war must be maintained. "Yet many that make show of peace, and desireth to live by blood, do utterly mislike . . . any good thing that the poor Irish man doeth."[1] So every governor sent with dreary reiteration the despatches wanted at Westminster, the expected and threadbare phrases of the barbarism of "Irish savages," their joy at tasting "the sweets of English law," their "loathing" of their own customs, and craving for English order.[2] They vaunted killings which had never happened, and furbished up fanciful tales of successes to win the royal goodwill—the war was over, the country willing to bear its charges, and vast profits would now begin for the Crown—all this to be invariably followed by expenses doubled, new debts, and a new catastrophe, each fresh tale the cloke to a fresh despair and the prelude of another rising. The discontent of the Irish under these conditions they attributed to supernatural iniquity. "As I suppose," wrote a deputy to Thomas

[1] Ir. Arch. Soc. 1841, Payne, 12. "Our drift now is," wrote a Munster planter, "being here possessed of land, to extort, make the state of things turbulent, and live by prey and by pay." C.S.P. 1589, 222. "The covetous surgeon to increase his commodity, lengthened the cure, and paineth the patient to pleasure himself, and oft festereth the sound to gain by the sore." Ib. 540.

[2] Car. ii. 81.

Cromwell, "*it is predestinate to this country* to bring forth seditions, inventions, lies, and such other naughty fruits, also that no man shall have thanks for services done here."

Reports of the barbarism and disorder of the country, moreover, served admirably to confirm the theory that the English were the only civilizing force in Ireland, the withdrawal of which would plunge the country into savage vices and anarchy. In this way the memory of mediaeval Irish prosperity has been obscured so that some have doubted whether it ever existed. So also the extravagant allusions to extortions and tyranny of barbarous exactions enabled officials to glorify the mission of England, expending her treasure and her men to bring "the sweets of English liberty" to wild Irish and degenerate English. In Sidney's story the wealthy and powerful lords of Munster were but degraded "thralls and slaves" to
1568. Desmond, "all which with open mouth and held up hands to heaven cried out for justice, and that it might please your majesty to cause your name to be known amongst them with reverence, and your laws obeyed";[1] and the
1576. lords of Connacht followed in like manner, "all lamenting their devastation, and with one consent crying for justice and English government, in so miserable (and yet magnanimous)

[1] Sid. Let. 23.

manner, as it would make an English heart to feel compassion with them."[1] The march of Sidney's army was more extortionate and devastating than that of any Irish chief had ever been: and in the scenes he describes we may see not only the skill of his romantic pen, but the panic spread by his troops. "The numbers of them are infinite whose blood the earth drank up, and whose carcasses the beasts of the field and the ravening fowls of the air did consume and devour. . . . The *curse of God* was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast."[2]

The domestic grounds for the slander of the Irish were thus many and powerful; but added to these were reasons of foreign policy. It was the object of England to slacken sympathy and divert aid from Europe to Ireland by heightening the colours of its poor and savage state. The wealthy cause had ever its own special means of propaganda, and the whole system of English diplomacy was ceaselessly employed at every European Court—English ambassadors now treating with foreign States that they should send no ship save to the king's own ports in Ireland; now spreading lying reports of Irish "barbarism" and of English "civilization" there. All visitors were warned away, or closely guarded on Irish ground. No independent eye might look on

[1] Sid. Let. 105. [2] Hol. vi. 459.

the dark and hidden scenes of the "perfecting"
1572. of Ireland. Three German earls arrived under the conduct of Mr. Rogers, who brought orders from Burghley to Fitz William: "according to your lordship's direction," the deputy answered, "they shall travel as little way in the country
1579. as I can."[1] Drury entertained at Trim three German notables[2] (one of them a rich merchant's son of Strasburg), while he debated if he could safely grant their desire to visit Galway and Limerick and other ports of Ireland; he allowed them at least a vision of English triumph, in the submission of O'Reilly with his thirty horsemen, under compulsion of English troops. O'Reilly's speech was in English and in Latin. "But how strange," commented Drury in the conventional manner, "how strange the view of those *savage personages* (most of them wearing glibbs, and armed in mail, with pesantses and skulls, and riding upon pillions), seemed to our strangers I leave to your wisdom to think of."[3] In that new-made isolation of the Irish, in the silence and darkness that was henceforth to wrap the island round, the political myth could grow unchecked.

By diplomacy as well as arms, in fact, Ireland was now for the first time to be made an island beyond an island, her old free intercourse of

[1] C.S.P. 1572, 479; *v.* app. [2] Ib. 1579, liii. 169-71.
[3] C.S.P. 1578, lv.; and the editor's fantastic comment, liii.

learning and trade with Europe broken, all now to come to her by the way of England alone, her fair fame denounced by slanders renewed with every century.

Attention was especially directed to the Roman Curia. The Pope's alleged grant of Ireland was even under Henry and Mary still considered a main title of the English kings, and had been repeatedly confirmed; and throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and James there was an active controversy, in which continental scholars defended the view (contrary to the bulk of native Irish opinion) that Ireland was a fief of the Holy See in which lay the political supremacy. Throughout these discussions English diplomacy took much pains to represent the cause of Rome and of England, the two external powers in Ireland, as being the same—the alleged advance of religion and civilization in a barbarous land. English influence was steadily worked to throw Rome against the national life of Ireland. The Pope was plied with reports in which it is hard to distinguish ignorance from malice.[1] The writer 1516
who sent to Rome the description of Clonmacnois[2]

[1] A secretary of state advised Charles I. as to the qualities needed in an agent to Rome. "That this is a very honest gentleman, I doubt not; but honesty alone will not despatch business; and of the two (I speak as a secretary, and humbly crave your majesty's pardon), honesty, in this Romish employment, may better be spared than sufficiency." Clarendon's St. Pap. quoted in Moran, Archbishops, 370.

[2] Bellesheim, ii. 30; Richey's Lect. ii. 54.

as having but twelve poor cabins of mud and straw, with a church in ruins, and only one altar and brass cross, had doubtless never been there, and apparently could not speak to an Irishman, for he could not tell who was the Irish saint buried in that most famous shrine: still less could he decipher the honoured names graven on the hundreds of beautiful inscribed tombstones that lay round, among them those of the three learned men who in 891 had visited the court of Alfred; nor did he know anything of the neighbouring romanesque church with its rich carvings; nor of the four carved crosses and the two famous round towers; nor of the great bells and the lesser bells, and the images, altars, books, gems, and painted glass in the church windows.[1]

It was useful indeed for English purposes to have the Irish described to the Pope as prowling bare-foot cave-dwellers: "A large proportion of
1516. the inhabitants even spend their time with the cattle in the fields and caves; almost all of them wear no shoes, and are given up to robbery"—in other words (as from the earliest time caves

[1] 4 M. p. 1523; Camb. iii. 321. Clonmacnois had evidently been a busy trading place when Gaulish merchants brought their wine there and carried it by the eiscir or gravel ridge across the middle and east of Ireland. When English statutes were passed to check the traffic of Ireland with the Pale, it is probable that trade began to pass by Clonmacnois, and was carried on up the Shannon to enrich the Irish territories of Connacht and Ulster, with their growing and wealthy markets.

are never mentioned in Irish writings as dwellings, but only as places of penance)[1] the people were suffering the extremities of war. A Papal nuncio 1517.
travelling in Ulster with letters of Henry VIII. was alarmed by the traditional English warning[2] that without a large escort he would be killed or robbed by the wild Irish, and seems to have been effectually kept by his English guard from the chance of talking to any O'Neills or O'Donnells. The lords, he was told, were little better than peasants! The country was poor, and only produced fish, cattle, and chicken; the people were clever and cunning and always quarrelling: they lived on oat-cake, with milk or water. They were communists in all things, had no private property and lived by thieving. Of Clogher and Omagh he knew nothing but that they were "full of thieves." Further north, he heard, the people were yet more savage: "they go naked, live in caverns, and eat raw flesh. *This is all I could find out about the island of Hibernia* and the Well of S. Patrick"—"not of great interest," as the nuncio justly remarked.[3]

[1] "They were retreats in time of danger, not the usual residence of her sons; for it was not in holes and caverns like the ancient Germans, but in houses that the Irish lived." Camb. Ev. ii. 113. The word desert was used by Irish writers to mean a hermitage or asylum for penitents and pilgrims.

[2] *v.* the Spanish noble in 1393, Gilbert's Viceroys, 275.

[3] Papal nuncio Francesco Chiericati to Isabella d'Este marchioness of Mantua, Aug. 28, 1517, quoted in life of the marchioness by Julia Cartwright, 172-183; *v.* app.

The picture of barbarism however served the
1517. purpose of English princes. The nuncio's story no doubt confirmed Leo X. in the bull he had
1516. just issued which excluded all Irish born from Christchurch and S. Patrick's in Dublin.[1]

The work of misrepresentation was not difficult. Rome was far away. Irish pilgrims at this time went chiefly to Compostella. The few lawyers sent from Ireland to the Roman Court scarcely lived on the scanty fees they levied. When stories were circulated of cattle snatchings, thievings, and revenges, no Irish lawyer was called to explain the seven legal cattle drivings that by the brehon code were exempt from the charges and consequences of trespass,[2] or the Irish laws of debt and compensation, or to examine how far the "robbery" was an act of war, or of a plundered man seeking to recover his own through forms of Irish law which allowed him to re-enter on his property. There was a like confusion in ecclesiastical causes. To take a single case, when Cardinal Wolsey attempted as legate to England to levy certain fees from Ireland, the Irish refused to recognise that an English legate had by that fact authority over Ireland, and denied the ecclesiastical as well as the temporal over-lordship of England. It is evident how plausibly, with what political ingenuity, and with what ardour of expression,

[1] Bellesheim, ii. 132. [2] O'Grady, Cat. 96, 99.

this legal contention of the Irish could be misrepresented by an English agent at the Papal Court as a "savage" hatred of the just authority not only of England but of Rome itself.

We may therefore judge if this country, whose deeds of blood have been so fastidiously sought out and circulated for 700 years, was really the most savage and uncultured among European peoples. It is evident that the picture given by the invaders cannot serve as a guide: in the Englishman's view there was no conceivable way of progress but through his own social system; men busied in the exploiting of Ireland and ignorant of its language could have no knowledge of the internal refinement of Irish life; planters and soldiers and politicians, annoyed by the long resistance of the Irish to English rule, used the exasperated phrases of disappointment and anger; the peculiar barbarism of the English wars in Ireland had to be justified by the alleged savagery of the "natives"; and so, fed by many sources, the convenient legend grew of a people sunk in sloth and ignorance, whose only redemption was through the cannons and fire-brands of a higher race.

It may be thought unnecessary to revive the tale of slanders hoary with the age of centuries. But unhappily age has not abated their strength. Reports born of prejudice and ignorance, born

even of downright panic, have been commonly accepted as the truth about Ireland. Persistently repeated, and accepted without criticism, they have had a lasting and wide-spread effect, and hostility of races is still nourished by old ignorances, by vulgar traditions, by the idle use of hackneyed phrases.

Slanders have passed into current history. Historical science looks proudly on its modern conquests. Ireland has been left out. As in Elizabeth's day, it is still generally accepted that history may neglect a study that reveals "nothing but a dreary picture of convulsions and blood, painful to peruse, and but slightly connected with that of any other country."[1] The Elizabethan word "savage" still exercises its spell on writers, controversialists, and historians.[2] The Irish had no settled industries and no settled

[1] Annals of England—a handbook used at Oxford by Prof. Stubbs and Prof. Goldwin Smith. Cf. ch. xi. p. 413 n. Dr. Mahaffy has given currency to many of the most blatant slanders: *v.* Ch. of Ire. Gazette, March, April, 1907. The license of ignorance and bigotry may be seen in the Irish chapters of an "Introduction to English History," by Mr. Fletcher, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. That such gross errors and fantastic absurdities could be printed in a "historical" work, without fear of awakening any protest, is a curious illustration of the state of historical study so far as Ireland is concerned. A notion of these absurdities may be given by the Fitz-Nigels turning into O'Neills, and de Burghs into O'Bourkes; and a population drinking usquebagh like liquid fire, varied by refreshing draughts of blood from the live cow.

[2] *v.* app.

habitations, and scarcely a conception of property; they were supported by the pillage of their neighbours or the *wild cattle* which wandered through the forests. They had some human traits: they were fond of music and *ballad-singing*. But no sacred sense of hearth and home has stirred their nobler natures.[1] So one historian tells us. The people were semi-barbarous, leading a wandering life, eating no bread, saved by their frieze cloaks from the need of building houses, with no internal intercourse amid their trackless forests, and knowing nothing of Europe or its political, moral, or intellectual influences. It was "hardly to be expected" that the feeling of religion should be anything but superficial: "a reformation implies something to be reformed, but outside the Pale there was nothing worthy of being called a church."[2] So we learn from one of the latest authorities. According to the editor of the Calendar of State Papers, "the rude way of living described by Hesiod" lingered on in Ireland till the Elizabethan wars, a nomad life of wild Irish, sheltered in their cloaks, rarely building houses, like the early Gauls and Britons hiding corn in woods and caves—so "primitive" that there was but "one apothecary" in the land, "nor was the unit of progress followed up by any rapid improvement"—and moreover among "the many ills concomitant with

[1] Froude, English in Ireland. [2] Camb. Mod. Hist. iii. 578.

the primeval state we find enumerated here the baneful ingredient pride."[1]

The common explanation of the wreck of Irish society is well known—it was the just downfall of a people without a national sense, having proved themselves incapable of union, divided like "uncementing sand" and crumbled by "domestic hate." We cannot here enter on the political history of Ireland in the middle ages. This needs a separate study. Nor can we trace the ruin of the Irish system, violently arrested in its development by prolonged foreign invasions. In England the Norman conquerors set themselves to build up a united State: the foreign rulers of Ireland were from first to last the diligent fomenters of
1278. civil strife. The English bishop of Waterford explained to Edward I. "that in policy he thought

[1] The rest of the Introduction is of corresponding triviality. Compare the reference to the Lacustrine habitations of these "primeval natives" of Ireland: C.S.P. 1509, iii. iv.; 1586, xi. He represents Smith and Essex as sent to Ulster by Elizabeth "with a view of teaching the native Irish how to live in towns." Ib. 1574, xxxii. Brewer, with a truer historical sense, saw the real problem, and cherished a desperate hope that Irish antiquarians might tell of some advances the Irish had made in learning and arts, or of some progress at least by the nobility, "from the day when the Saxon first planted his foot on the Irish strand. For it is hard to believe that any people should go backward—any people so witty, subtle, quick, and versatile,—whose cheerfulness centuries of famine, war, and misrule have never been able to extinguish, nor impair the strength and elasticity of their physical powers." Car. II. xxxii.-iii. His description, however, does not differ from the rest. xiv.-xvi. xxv. xxvii. xxxiii.-vi. xxxii.

it expedient to wink at one knave cutting off another and that would save the king's coffers and purchase peace to the land: whereat the king smiled and bid him return to Ireland." Three centuries later lord justice Arnold described to Cecil his same method of government: "I am 1565.
with all the wild Irish at the same point I am at with bears and banddogs when I see them fight; so that they fight earnestly indeed, and tug the other well, I care not who have the worse." To which Cecil answered that the letter "showeth you to be of that opinion that many wise men are, from the which I do not dissent, being as an Englishman. But being as a Christian man, I cannot without some perplexity enjoy of such cruelties."[1] Bacon lauded Elizabeth's "princely 1599.
policy . . . to weaken them . . . by division and disunion of the heads." Strafford pressed the 1634
advantages of "fomenting emulations" between Catholics and Protestants. Ireland, said England at all times, "would be as good as gone if a wild Irish wyrlynge should be chosen there as king." At every national movement, therefore, the strength of England was thrown in to break the rising hope of union and peace, and fling the country again into disorder. In the swell and tumult of that tossing sea, leaders of the people emerge now in one province, now in another,—each to be cast into

[1] Soc. of Ant., May 1856, pp. 96-7.

the abyss by the policy of the English court, while another pressed on to take his place. Wars of conquest and civil conflicts have their natural limits and close: but there are no limits to the course of disturbances fomented by a foreign power. "Laws were like good lessons set for a lute that is broken and out of tune."[1]

By modern writers however mere faction is given as the sufficient cause of Irish misfortune —like the accusations of poverty, idleness, and barbarism, and repeated in the same traditional and superficial way—just as the Elizabethans rounded off their sentences with the curse of God that lay on Ireland, predestinate to bring forth naughty fruits, and to love no English sovereign. Thus the conventional phrase is handed on from one to another without a question, and the Irish story banished once for all.[2] Of Ireland's greatest sons we may still repeat the mournful words of a learned patriot two hundred years ago—"his character lies entombed in the history of a people hardly enquired after in our own time."[3]

It is no wonder when historians give currency to these tales that they should be accepted by politicians and journalists, and made to serve the

[1] *v.* Camb. Ev. i. 201 n.

[2] A few weeks ago I saw children in an Irish school instructed from a reading book beginning "The southern part of the island in which we live was not always called England." The map of Ireland was rolled up behind the door.

[3] Charles O'Conor, quoted in Irish Arch. Soc. 1841, p. 13.

uses of prejudice, the excitements of panic, and the jealousies of property. So we have the ceaseless stream of modern comment on the Irish down to our times, on "the demons of assassination and murder," the "raw materials of treason and sedition," the "*aliens* in race, religion, and language," still reported "idle."[1] The Tudor theory appears again unchanged, that it needs but "to exterminate and exile the country people of the Irishry" to ensure the prosperity of the island.[2] "This is not a symptom," said a statesman in 1860 as emigration swelled from the poor to the better educated, ". . . at which *viewed*

[1] *v.* p. 399. Hooker in 1581 pictured a happy commonwealth, "when the good are preserved and cherished (*i.e.* the English settlers); and the wicked (the Irish), prepared for the gallows, according to their deserts are punished!" Compare the comment of a modern editor that the "very good course of execution of idle men in the English Pale leads to serious reflection on this ready way of ridding the world of superfluous life." C.S.P. 1574, xxx. The old "chronic complaint" of Ireland "*wants nothing but bleeding to cure it.*" Lever's Life (1906) ii. 117. Again, the notion of contemptuous bribery of barbarians survived from Elizabeth's day to our own. Soc. Ant. 1857, 364. Lever's Life, ii. 158. So also the official policy of Drury (*supra*, 480) has many parallels. "It was said that the British Minister at Florence was eager that the Italian patriot [Garibaldi] should be disabused of the favourable impressions he was supposed to entertain of the Irish revolutionary movement. The Vice Consul at Spezzia found it necessary to explain to his guest that any overt expressions or acts of sympathy with Fenianism would be certain to alienate English sympathies. Garibaldi seemed to be somewhat surprised at this. Ib. 29, 30. Compare the argument in the Letters of Queen Victoria, e.g. Oct. 10, 1848.

[2] *v.* St. P. II. III. For emigration and forced change of names see Emmet, Irel. under Eng. Rule, ii. 211.

at large we ought to repine." Davies would have driven out the savage Irish for deer: the modern English publicist welcomed the passing away of "howling assassins" for "lowing herds." The Elizabethan deputy seeing "the commodious houses and harbours, the beauty and commodity of the river Shannon" thought what "places of pleasure" there would be in Ireland "if the land were blessed with good people"; the journalist of our own time rejoiced to see the "island of one hundred and sixty harbours, with its fertile soil, with noble rivers and beautiful lakes, . . . being cleared quietly for the interest and luxury of humanity."[1] And so the vacant Shannon flows through its deserted plain.

Thus it has been that a long perversion of history has lent itself to politics. In speeches of politicians, in writings of the leading press, we see errors down to our own time moulding men's thought and action, and repeated almost in the same old words. It would indeed be easy to draw up a series of modern quotations and intersperse them with Tudor sayings, without any difference of thought to be discerned, so uniform are the workings of ignorance through the centuries when the knowledge of history is set aside. We have seen the well of a primitive

[1] Car. ii. 243; *v.* p. 128. "The instinctive feeling of an Englishman is to wish to get rid of an Irishman," wrote Lord Salisbury, as Lord Burghley might have written. Life of Lord R. Churchill, 486.

world, where a hood-winked horse treads his darkened round of monotonous labour: so it may happen that in Europe, as with Eastern peoples, statesmen and nations may turn blindfolded in an endless circle of experience, ever renewed and ever forgotten and unregistered.

It is for this reason that Irish history cannot safely be ignored. Its study is needed to correct a whole series of misconceptions which have been for generations instilled into the minds of English and Irish alike—prejudices which have been the source of fatal errors.

It is needed for the Irish people, for these misconceptions have penetrated far. In the sixteenth century the accusations of the stranger found no belief beyond the foreigners themselves. Ireland men had an assured knowledge, which lifted them above the legends of the stranger. They remembered a land prosperous and active; they had seen the struggle of the heroes of the great war, their fortitude and their fidelity; they had seen the schools of the learned, and heard the faith of the poets; and the image of Ireland was not defaced to them. "Nurse of our bringing up is she, and when you have looked at her she is not unlovely." Now, in recalling the way of sorrows they have traversed, their history will renew their confidence in the strength and vitality of a race which no ruin has till now destroyed.

There is another purpose which the scientific study of Irish history may serve. The story of the English in Ireland shews with what stubborn will and long tenacity this people too is endowed. But it also demonstrates how dangerous and unprofitable a foundation for a lasting settlement is a false or perverted history. For centuries, a number of circumstances aiding to perpetuate the first error, the English have been constantly misled as to the main facts of Irish life, both political and economical. And the natural results have followed. There are men however in England who believe in Ireland; many desire her prosperity; many follow justice for its own sake, and recognise that a right order will never be established on the legends of ignorance. This book will have served some purpose if it should call attention to the importance for Ireland of a critical study of national history corresponding to its revived study in other lands. For the true record of Ireland will be powerful to efface the prejudices, the contempt, and the despair that falsehood alone can foster; and to build up on solid foundations of fact the esteem and consideration that must form the only honourable relation between two neighbouring peoples.

APPENDIX

P. 1, n. 1. The Irish name was *Ériu*, the older form of which was **Iveriū*. This was Latinized as *Hiberio*, see St. Patrick's Confession; early writers used the form *Hibernia*, which seems partly due to an imagined connection with the Latin word for *wintry*. From the fourth to the twelfth century Latin writers used the word *Scotti* for Irish, and *Scottia* for Ireland. "Hibernia," says King Alfred in his Orosius, "which we call Scotland." Pauli, Alfred the Great, p. 259. In the twelfth century these words came to be used for Scotch and Scotland, and Latin writers returned to *Hibernia*.

From *Ériu* the Vikings took the name *Irland* (Ireland), *Irar* (Irishmen), *Ira-konungr* (king of the Irish), *Irskr* (Irish), *Irska* (Irish tongue). *Iraland* occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle a. 937. A report sent to the Pope in 1517 says, "The island of Hibernia, called by Pliny Juverna, is one-half less than Great Britain, and is now called by the barbarians Irlandia." Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum, 1216-1547, p. 521.

P. 4, n. 1. Berry, Stat. 490. The third part and more of Ireland had before 1342 come back into the power of the Irish. Ib. 333, 335.

P. 5, n. 8. See Cormac's Glossary, 141-2. These roads were choked when English settlements broke up the old custom of repairing by the tribe, and a statute ordered that the ancient highways, "*now* so closed up" that passage was impossible, should be preserved. Berry, Stat. 209.

P. 6, n. 1. Cork Hist. Journ. 1907, xiii. 27-30; Soc. of Ant. July, 1871, 536. Rath Raithlean is in the parish of Templemartin, and the barony of Kinelmeaky, or Cinéal mBéice, the tribe-land of a sept of the O'Mahonys, five miles from Bandon. See the Irish poem on Rath R. attributed to Gilla Caoimh in the *Leabhar Oiris* (Ériu, i. 98 ff.), also an

interesting note on the site of the Rath by Fr. Lyons, Gael. Journ. vii. 94. Some interesting notes on early Irish commerce are given by Zimmer in the Akademie der Wissenschafften. 1909. Nos. xiv, xv, xx, xxi.

P. 8, n. 1. Ir. Stat. 1458, cap. ii. "Whereas now of late, there are divers towns and villages made waste in this land, by the robbery of thieves in the night, by default of inclosure, stopping and ditching; and because that many of the said towns be in high-wayes between market and market, the tenants and inhabitants thereof dare not stop, ditch nor enclose such towns and villages for fear of indictments, so that many towns and villages are made waste, to the great hurt of this land . . . it shall be lawful to every tenant and inhab^{t} of such towns and villages being in highways to stop, ditch and enclose the said towns and vill^{s} in the strongest manner that they can, so as there shall be a competent and a sufficient high-way left . . . so that people be not interrupted in their passage from market to market."

The Tochar Phatraic was the ancient pilgrims' road from the east to Croagh Patrick. Knox. Tuam. 140. Sussex in 1556 mentions the Castav Loughe Keoulle, which was made by the Red Earl; and also a "fayle great causy," or high gravelled way. Carew, i. 261.

Mr. Richard Wall has written to me an interesting description of an ancient causeway in the bog of Garron MacConnolly near Borris-in-Ossory, and of the general features of the surrounding country. The bog is large, about 1000 acres. The old road is about 15 feet down from the surface, and a portion of it is tossed over each spring during turf-cutting. It is formed of oak beams about 16 feet long, chopped square, and laid crosswise side by side close up, and then flagged over. Flagging of the description used is not found nearer than the Ballinrally Quarries, up in the Slieve Bloom Mountains. The beams are, like all bog oak, black, and from the extent and depths of the tool-marks on them—which are still as fresh as when made—cutting implements equal to anything now in use must have been used. The bog at this point is very deep, and has never been bottomed—that is, cut to gravel—though generally dug down some thirty feet or more, rather dangerous work, as the banks have a habit of suddenly caving in. To get at the correct age of this piece of old engineering would be interesting, and the purpose also for which the road was made.

P. 9, n. 3. Hardiman, more than sixty years ago, urged the

need of study of the bridges of Ireland (Iar Connacht, p. 41); but no list of these, with their dates, has yet been made. Where great herds of cattle were driven as prey, or out to pasture, or to port towns—all of which took place in summer and autumn seasons—the drivers would prefer shallow fords to any mediaeval bridges. But that fact need not prejudice the question whether for military purposes, or for traffic carried on at all seasons, the use and convenience of bridges may not have appealed to the inhabitants of Ireland.

Annals of Ulster, 1000, "The causeway (tochar) of Ath-Luain [was made] by Mailsechlainn and by Cathal son of Conchobar." In Leabhar Oiris (Ériu, i. 81) the Leth Cuin made a stone cashel over Ath-Luain fearing that Brian's fleet should pursue them. The bridges of Athlone and Athcroghta were destroyed by the men of Meath in 1126, and the castle and bridge of Athlone were rebuilt by Turlough in 1129. 4 M. a. 1126, 1129. In 1155 "A fleet was brought by Turlough O'Connor to Athlone, and the wicker bridge of Athlone was made by him for the purpose of making incursions into Meath." Ib. 1155. The bridge was at once destroyed, and its fort burned by the men of Meath. I do not know whether the form of this entry implies a more hasty and temporary bridge than the other mentioned. It was the custom in England as in Ireland to make bridges of hurdles and wood. King John sent over such bridges for the invasion of Ireland. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. Nos. 413, 419, 423. Henry III. ordered a number of hurdles and bridges to be made out of the twigs of the woods in Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucester. Ib. Nos. 2049, 2059. In 1233 the English calculated the cost of a bridge at Athlone to be 50 marks on works and 30 marks on carriage. Ib. No. 2043. But in 1288 "the bridge of Athlone was falling." Ib. iii. p. 273.

As early as 1216 Henry III. ordered that "No town nor individual shall be distrained to make bridges over rivers except those who of old and of right ought to make them." Berry, Stat. p. 13. There was a statute for repair of bridges and causeways in 1297, as well as of the ancient highways. Ib. 209. For new Kilkenny bridge in 1285, see Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 73. Great oaks were sent from Glencree for the Prior of All Saints' mill and bridge, 1299. Ib. 219. Manus O'Conor, in order to build a bridge over the river Geirctheach in Leitrim, had a chapel demolished, in the fall of which he was himself killed, 1244. O'Grady, Cat. 332-3. "A bridge of lime and stone was built by Cathal O'Conor across the Eas-dara." 4 M. a. 1360.

John Plunket had a grant of 10 acres of arable land "near the bridge of Finglas," 1557-8. Cal. Patent Rolls, i. 383-4. A grant was made to Sir Maurice FitzGerald of the Bridge of Bealyne in O'Dempsy's country, with the boat and the lands thereunto belonging on condition that he shall build a castle at one end of the bridge, and a tower at the other, 1553. Ib. i. 266.

P. 10, n. 3. Waterford had a trade in the fifteenth century, carried in boats, the number of men to each boat and their wages being fixed, and all sworn to be true to the king and the city. H.M.C. Rep. x. app. v. 296, 299, 325. There was an organization at Galway of boatmen of the Wood Key under a Master, and of fresh water and salt water fishers. Iar Connacht, 237-240. For a boat on the Barrow in O'Dempsy's country see C.S.P. 1552, 126.

P. 13, n. 1. The number of oreign merchants in Ireland from Italy, Gascony, and Flanders was very great, and the references to them in Sweetman's Calendar of Documents are too numerous to give. See iv. 260. Many of them owned land and lived in the country.

In 1216 foreign merchants were by statute allowed freedom of trade in Ireland. Berry, Stat. 17. Both English traders and the good men of Dublin in 1220 resented the exactions of the justiciary. Their goods are taken from them whether they will or not under the name of loan. This violent taking has rendered the city of Dublin and other Irish cities so hateful to merchants of foreign countries that none will come thither. The king ordered that these loans were to cease. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 971.

In 1273 there was a complaint that foreign merchants were burdened beyond measure with new customs, prisage, and undue exactions. Ib. ii. 972. Edward I., 1273, ordered that merchants were to travel safely through Ireland without new and unwonted customs. Lib. Mun. Hib. I. iv. p. 75. New customs were granted by the magnates in 1275, and these were farmed out to merchants of Lucca and afterwards to those of Florence. The extent of the Irish trade may be seen by the large sums levied in the next few years. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1902. The customs were farmed in 1280 to the merchants of Lucca for £1,800. See ib. iii. pp. 9, 11. See also 739, 1112, 1113. Account of the new custom granted to the king in Ireland, by merchants of Lucca appointed to collect it for the king's use; also for merchants of Florence, 1287. 11 Pipe Roll for a. 2. xv. Ed. I.

Merchants from Italy were numerous. The Archbishop of Dublin, 1266, owed large sums to Cino de Sancino of Florence. Gilbert, Hist. and Mun. Doc. 166. David Bishop of Emly and Matthew Bishop of Killaloe, driven by necessity, bound themselves in 100 marks, by pledge of the Abbot, to one Mons Lombard and his sons. The bishops died, and the Abbot, unable to pay, gave the Lombards the manor of Coullety and Grangecorkeran . . . to hold for 50 years. Cal. Justic. Rolls, June 15, 1297. The sheriff was directed to deliver all the goods of James . . . except . . . by reasonable price to Gestus de Assissio, merchant. Ib. July 21, 1297. Maurice attached to answer Henry de Cogan of a plea that he acquit him against the Merchants of Lucca. Ib. Ap. 28, 1297. Sheriff commanded to raise money from lands of certain men, for one Malizard, merchant of Lucca. Ib. Oct. 13, 1299. Pardon from the king to Reyner of the Society of Merchants of Sienna for his trespass in causing men of Ireland to be summoned out of the kingdom by letters apostolic, against the custom of the kingdom. Ib. Oct. 13, 1299. Debts due to merchants of Florence in Dublin. Ib. Jan. 20-27, 1299; July 8, 1300. Concerning the tenth in Ireland granted for the Holy Land, the goods taken, wools, hides, etc., to be given for safe keeping to the merchants de Spini in Ireland, taking from them sufficient security, viz. "certain foreign merchants as pledges." Ib. Oct. 3, 1300. Dispute with Torosianus Donati, a merchant of Florence, concerning debt. Action given up for 12 marks, which Torosianus should receive from a rent of 4 marks yearly, arising from a mill in the town of Dublin. Ib. June 18, 1302. Debt of the king to merchants of the company of the Spini in Florence, for which he assigned to them all that part of the tenth which was granted to him in Ireland for three years by Pope Boniface VIII. Ib. Nov. 25, 1302. Account of the merchants of the Society of the Friscobaldi: they account for £175 borrowed from the Society of the Spini, 1302. 21 Pipe Roll, xxx. Ed. I.

From a very great number of entries in the Calendar of Documents, ed. Sweetman, it is clear that practically most of the wine for Scotland, Wales, and the north-west of England came through Ireland, mainly from France, and the French merchants were numerous. Payment to William son of Florent, a rich man of S. Omer, out of the king's treasure in Ireland, and of proceeds of the loan from Irish, Welsh, and English merchants. Cal. of Documents, ed. Sweetman, Sept. 21, 1217;

Aug. 30, 1218. Six hogsheads of wine of Anjou bought of Irish merchants for the king's use. Ib. May 14, 1223. French merchants in Ireland. Ib. Jan 22, 1235. Merchants coming with wine from St. Milione, 1288. 12 Pipe Roll, xvi. Ed. 1. Henry de Trym accounts for £7 4s. in respect of 37 tuns of wine shipped at Dordon, which he bought from Peter Beg, a merchant of Gascony, 1293. 15 Pipe Roll, xxi. Ed. 1. Merchant of S. Seyner, in Gascony, complains of an English merchant that he is bound to him in 8½ lasts of hides to be paid at Waterford. A day is given to Arnald de Emlydons, merchant of S. Seyner, in Gascony, plaintiff, and W. Purcel of a plea of debt. Cal. Justic. Rolls, June 16, July 8, 1297. New customs of merchants to the king from Ulster ports, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Ros, Waterford, Yochell, Cork, Kery, Lymerick, Galuy. They account for the smallness of sums raised at Dublin, because wools and hides could not be exported owing to war with France, 1297. 17 Pipe Roll, xxv. Ed. 1. Wexford sent to Rochelle coal, mantles, hides, and brought back salt, iron, prepared pitch, tar, linen, and silk, 1566. Hore's Town of Wexford, 173.

P. 13, n. 1. The complaint of Irish wealth was an old one: "Item Hibernenses sunt divites, potentes, et Anglici pauperes, quod vix illi Anglici qui potuerunt in sexdecim . . . eisdem in equitatura contra Hibernenses; modo non habent quod manducent." Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. p. 15, c. 1285.

P. 14, n. 1. In 1204 the king claimed two-thirds of Connacht, and commanded the Justiciary that he select for the king's use the two-thirds in which lay *the best towns* and harbours, those fittest for the king's interest and for fortifying castles. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 222.

In a writ of 1229 ordering the statute of false money to be observed in market towns and ports (Cal. Just. Rolls, June 21, 1299), the following names are mentioned: Cork, Lyoghil, Tathmolag, Carritothel, Botauant, Balehac, Castrocoly, Martre, Cloen, Moyel, Tolaghrath, Corkbeg, Castle Olechan, Glenoure, Schendon, Moyale, Bridgetown, Mora, Carrig, Killurd, Brigon, Newtown of Olechan, Carrigehan, Town of the Castle, Dunrail, Dunbolg, Insahenan, Grenagh, Athule, Kensale, Aneheo, Dundynan, Rymon, Ryncornam, Boy, Bonner, Dunglasse, Del Fayth, Dublin.

In 1300 the communities of Waterford, Yoghil, Fythard, Tylaghrath, Clonmell, Carryk, Athmethan, Typerary, Casshell, Limerick, the Naas, and many other towns appear by their

attorneys against Edm Birorin, late Keeper of Measures and Weights of the King in this land, for that when he went to their towns to do his office . . . Edm falsely changed or diminished the legal measures, and amerced them when not culpable or convicted. Ib. Ap. 24, 1300.

A subsidy was required in 1300, and of the towns that gave grants outside Dublin there were four named as "the King's city," Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Carrick; five that belonged to a lord or prelate, Ross, Youghal, Cashel, Clonmel, Athassel; and twenty-five other towns, Kilmeadan, Affane, Stradbally, Dungarvan, Emly, Ardfinnan, Nenagh, Modreeny, Thurles, Fethard, Modeshil, Kilkenny, Trim, Carlow, Adare, Rathkeale, Askeaton, Ardagh, Croom, Kilmallock, Darragh, Aherlow, Aney, Grean, Cahircoolish; besides twenty-nine "communities" and "tenants" of certain districts who must have done trading, as they had money to give. Berry, Stat. 229-37.

There was an old Irish town at Kilkenny before the Norman invasion. Hol. vi. 33.

P. 14, n. 2. Paid into the Treasury £20 and 200 marks and allowed other sums for sending wine from Dublin to Chester castle. Pipe Roll, a. 2, 1267. There are frequent notices of trade with Chester, Carlisle, and Scotland. For the Argyle trade see Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 1136. From Kilkenny 9 tuns of wine brought into the March of Scotland for the King's war. Cal. Just. Rolls, Ap. 24, 1300. John Heyde complains of Philip le Carpenter . . . it having been argued between them that Philip should convey the timber of a certain house from Newcastle of Are in Scotland to Dublin, and John having procured at great costs men at arms and foot soldiers to conduct it safely to the ship, said Philip crossed at another place and did not see that the timber was conveyed to Dublin as had been agreed, to the damage of John of 40 marks. Cal. Justic. Rolls, 30 Ed. I. 1302, May 13. In the sixteenth century many "pleasures and commodities" and victuals of the Scots were sent to them by the Irish trade. St. P. II. iii. 93, 100. License to Archibald Laughlen, otherwise Liell, and John Greme of the city of Glasgow to import 200 tons of salt, 100 tons of iron, 200 hogsheads of wine, 100 lasts of fish, and 400 pecks of flour. Cal. Patent Rolls, Ireland, i. 374, 1556-7.

P. 14, n. 3. For the trade of Drogheda in the thirteenth century, see Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1517, iv. 311. See the tolls taken for the new bridge at Kilkenny in 1285. Among other things wool, sheaves of steel, lead, Irish cloth called

pynnok, foreign cloth, every kind of grain, etc. Ib. iii. No. 73. In Trim market in 1289, cloth of silk with and without gold, cloth of Ireland, carried by cart or horse, loads of tan, iron, lead, wood, etc. Ib. 560. At Fethard in 1591, cloth of gold, silk tissue, diaper, and Baudekyn. Ib. 1015.

P. 15, n. 1. In 1243 mandate to the justiciary and treasurer of Ireland, that out of the king's profits they cause to be constructed, in the Castle of Dublin, a hall 120 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth, with glazed windows [cum fenestris et verinis], after the manner of the hall of Canterbury; and that they cause to be made in the gable beyond the dais a round window 30 feet in diameter. They shall also cause to be painted beyond the dais the king and queen sitting with their baronage; and a great portal shall be made at the entrance of the hall. The whole shall be completed by the king's arrival. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 2612.

P. 16, n. 2. Divers inquisitions as to Ardglass and other places were taken, Cal. Pat. Rolls, p. 242, and they are mentioned in a writ dated 5th Hen. VI., commanding that John Dartas as son and heir of Janico Dartas should be put in possession of these lands. No inquisitions, however, are to be found relating to Ardglass in the Chancery Inquisitions Post Mortem, Chancery Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum, or Chancery Miscellanea for Ireland for the period Rich. II. to Hen. VI.

P. 21, n. 1. The Bay of Galway was called of old Lough Lurgan, and was counted one of the most ancient lakes of Ireland. Legend told that there Lugaid Mac-Con with a fleet of foreigners arrived (a. 250) and became king of Ireland. O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, pp. 42-3.

St. Furse was the patron saint of the O'Flahertys, and St. Brendan the saint of the Enaghdun diocese, whose feast on May 16th was kept in Galway by the ancient dwellers on the Quay Street. Ib. p. 33.

We may judge of the importance of Galway in the twelfth century by the constant struggle between chiefs of Munster and Connacht for its possession. In 1125, the year the Round Tower at Clonmacnois was finished, the Connacht men built three forts at Colooney, Dunlo, and Galway. Galway fort was destroyed by Munster men in 1132 and again in 1149. It was, according to O'Donovan, a stone castle. In 1154 the fleets of Galway Dun, and of Connemara were sent out upon an expedition "on the sea round Ireland northwards." In 1162 "Demon ships were

seen on the bay of Galway and they sailing against the wind. The fortress on the day following was consumed by fire." The inhabitants of the fortress are mentioned in 1178, so it had been rebuilt. Richard de Burgo made his new castle in 1232. 4 M. an. 1132, 1149, 1154, 1162, 1178, 1232. Cf. also Hardiman's Galway; and O'Flaherty's Iar Connacht, 30, 31.

P. 23, n. 1. Waterford, Limerick, and the other towns in Ireland gave grounds and buildings to foreigners not dwelling in the cities or good towns of Ireland. This was forbidden by Henry III. in 1222. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 1032.

In 1293 Alfonsus of Spain was parson of Dungarvan. Ib. iv. pp. 22, 64.

A German name is found (1346) in the conveyance of Joan, daughter and heiress of William Sepisheind, chief miller of the town of Galway, to Thomas Martyn and his heirs, of all the profits out of the mills of Galway, descended to her by hereditary right. Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 33.

In 1355 a Bordeaux merchant claimed tenements in Cork. Lib. Mun. Hib. I. iv. p. 34.

P. 24, n. 4. In Cork the shop of Thomas de Iuenton had cloth worth 2d. an ell. Cal. Just. Rolls, July 26, 1295. Trade with Gascony is mentioned in 1297. Ib. Jan. 20, 1297; and the freight of a ship sent to Gascony. Ib. May 3, 1299. Grant of freedom of the city of Cork to John, son of Thady, Donat and Reginald, the Lumbards; that they might freely trade and enjoy all the liberties and customs of the city, with exemption from toll, lastage, passage, pontage, pavage, and keyage. March 28, 14 Edward. Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 428.

In 1287 there were traders in Kilmallock, some of them Irish, competing with Cork. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. No. 310.

P. 24, n. 5. For the trade of Youghal in 1275, see Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. No. 1144. Peter de Paris, merchant of Youghal in 1293. Ib. iv. No. 120.

For trade of Tralee in 1286, Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 226.

The King to sheriff of Kerry. Order through all ports and merchant towns in your bailiwick, that no merchant or other . . . take out of Ireland any victual or other thing, which may advantage any person of Scotland. . . . If any one of Scotland come into your bailiwick, arest him. . . . This precept to include clerics, as well as laymen, and merchants of Scotland, as well as those of their affinity consenting to them of whatever condition. Cal. Just. Rolls, Nov. 26, 1295. For MacCarthy, Sid. Lett. 24, 39.

P. 27, n. 1. For the rivalry of Waterford and New Ross, see Hore's Old and New Ross. Waterford claimed from the first the right of being the port of landing for merchandize, which Ross even in 1215 sought to infringe. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 646, 890, 912, 968, 2361 ; iii. 1085-7, 1160. The fight seemed to culminate in 1518 when the "citizens and Commons of the City of Waterford, at the command of Patrick Roofe, Mayor of the said city, together with many Spaniards, Frenchmen, Bretons, and Irish, came riotously with a fleet of boats and ships, in piratical or warlike fashion, variously armed : to wit, with surcoats, coats of mail, helmets, shields, spears, swords, lances, cross-bows, weapons, bows, arrows, broad-axes, and bombards or cannon," to assault the town of Ross. Hore's Old and New Ross, p. 232.

Waterford commerce before the coming of the English is mentioned in Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 1160.

P. 29, n. 4. In 1547 each ton of Spanish wine £6. And for each ton of Gascon wine £4. Fiants of Edward VI. 22 Nov. 1547. From its position Ireland was a convenient distributing centre from which wine of Gascony or Spain passed to Scotland, Wales, and north-west England ; and this old traffic was rapidly increased after the Norman settlement. Every Irish port from Carrickfergus to Wexford, and thence to Sligo, seems to have been busied in this commerce. The import of wine was not all destined for Irish use.

P. 32, n. 3. In 1409-10, there was so great emigration of labourers and servants from Ireland that mariners of ships, boats, and barges were forbidden to transport them. Berry, Stat. 517.

In 1536 one Stephen Ap Harry "hath a fleece of all poor men that come from Ireland." C.S.P. 22.

P. 33, n. 1. The editor of the Coventry Leet Book, Miss Dormer Harris, writes that there was a great deal of intercourse between Ireland and Coventry, which was a thoroughfare town. There is, or was, a foot-path skirting the city called the "Irishman's Pad." Irish names may probably be found in the Alien Subsidies Rolls. The Leet Book in 1511 gives the name of Laur. Ireland among those who were alone allowed to cut sea-fish.

P. 35, n. 1. In 1387 Philippe le Hardi, desiring to receive trade in his dominions, gave a letter of safe-conduct to Irish merchants and their families. "Accordons et octroyons à tous marchanz et maistres de neifz dudit pays D'irlande quilz, leurs

familles, valles et mesines avecques leurs vaisseaux marchandises et biens puissent doresenavant, tout qu'il nous plaira et jusques à nostre rappel, paisiblement venir, arriver et descendre sous armeures en nostre dit pays ; illecques vendre, achater, marchander, demourer, rechargier et retourner sans empeschement. . . . Par ainsi toutes voies que les dis marchans et maistres de neifs quant ilz serond descenduz en nostredit pays, seront tenus de jurer et promettre . . . quilz ne traicteront ou pourchaceront en notredit pays, ne avecques les subgez dicellui ne aultres, aucune chose au contraire de monseigneur le Roy de nous et de nostre pays dessus dit, et bailleront suffisante seurte aux marchans et habitans de nostre dit pays de Flandres quilz puissent aler arriver, seivierner, marchander, ensemble leurs familliers, valles, mesines, biens et marchandises audit pays Dirlande, et en retourner paisiblement sans empeschement ne destourbier aucun." If the safe-conduct was withdrawn, the traders were to have three months' notice to withdraw their goods. Gilliodts van Severen. Cart. de Bruges. i. 358.

P. 45, n. 1. For a variety of trades in Ireland, see a satirical poem of 1308 A.D. Ulster Arch. Journ. Old Series, viii. 268.

P. 45, n. 2. In 1285 the pillars of marble were taken from the King's Hall in the castle of Dublin, where they had been placed about 1243, and carried to the Justiciary's manor of Dunbro. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. p. 13.

P. 45, n. 3. In 1214 boards were sent from Ireland to England. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 527. In 1224 wood was sent from Dublin for the fabric of the church of Salisbury. Ib. 1196. In 1225 ashen oars 12, 13, and 14 ells in length were made in Ireland for Winchilsea, and two good shiploads of boards sent to the king for making galleys and long vessels. Ib. 1232. In 1245 eight wooden towers were sent from Ireland to the king in Wales. Ib. 2735, 2736, 2775. In 1250 1000 boards of Ireland were sent for the king's works at Marlborough. Ib. 3090. In 1254 Henry III. ordered to be made in the woods of Ireland 3000 wattles for the ships and 80 bridges for his Gascony war. Ib. ii. 310. 2000 pieces of timber were sent to make wooden towers. Ib. 446. Much timber was sold from Drogheda. Ib. 1517. Waterford had a timber trade in 1234 : timber for barrels, boards, and planks for ships. Ib. i. 2133. Gifts and grants were made of good oaks from Irish forests. Ib. ii. 51, 156, 1633, 2084 ; iii. 92, 581, 741, 769.

P. 46, n. 4. The old superstitions among the fishermen of the

West mentioned in Hardiman's Galway, notes, pp. 95-101, point to an ancient sea-fishing by Irishmen. See also O'Flaherty's Iar Connacht, 99, etc. There must have been considerable river fishing, since in 1216 a statute ordered that all weirs in all Ireland should be put down except by the sea-coast. Berry, Stat. 15. Fish of various kinds are mentioned in all the markets, and among the provisions sent to England, Wales, and Scotland. 3600 eels sold at Athlone for £4 16s. in 1293. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iv. p. 29.

P. 49, n. 1. In 1492 sixty hundred-yard-pieces or rolls of linen were sold by Lynch of Galway to a merchant of Genoa. Blake Rec. i. 46. ("Summe sexaginta centorum lyntheaminis seu rollorum"—"summe predicte lx^ta^ rollorum lyntheaminis"—are the words in the original document, in the possession of Mr. Martin Blake.) The will of Valentine Blake mentions over 4000 linen cloths. Ib. 48. See also ib. 52, 61, 86. This will also shows that linen was bought by merchants from the mere Irish. A customs receipt of 1543 gives 24 lasts of hides, and 40 butts and pipes of falingas and other things, and linen cloths laden by a Spanish captain. Ib. p. 86. "Omnibus Christi populis fidelibus ad quos presentes literas pervenerint Sciatis me Thomam Blake custumerium Domini Regis de omnibus rebus et mercandiziis mercibus seu mercimoniis custumalibibus in portu suo ville sui Galvie. Recepisse de Stephano Faunt et Waltero fitz Ricardi Lynche indigenis, pro vigenti quatuor lastis coriorum vaccarum, et quadraginta butis ac pipis falingarum et aliarum rerum, ac linthiamenis, onustatis in carvelam vocatam Sancta Maria de Gras unde Balthazar Affonsa, sub deo, est magister, custumam cockettam et subsidium Domino Rege inde debita et consueta. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum officii custumarii presentibus est appensum. Datum apud Galviam xiiii die Novembris anno regni invictissimi principis nostri Henrici octavi Regis Anglie Francie et Hibernie xxxv^to^." (*falinga* and *falanga* represent *fallaing*, an Irish word formed on the Latin *palla*, robe or mantle, with the characteristic change of *p* to *f*.)

Linen is mentioned in 1543 as part of a marriage dowry. Ib. 86. "Knowe all men be these presents that I John Niell knowledge and confesse my to be fully content satisfied and paid in all manner actions duets and demaunds that ever I and my wyf some tyme Anastas Blake clamed of Nicholas Blake fitz John as heire to hys father, for resone of her duery & mariage goods; for the whiche I recewed of the said Nicholas to morgage, for

eight marks mony xix medele mantells, seven honndred lynclothe and one pype of hony, the tenement in Blakes lane be force and vertu of an arbitrement made betwixt my & tho saide Nicholas wherein we were bound to stande to be our juraments, as the selfe arbitrement and dede of morgadge doth declare more att lardge: Wherin I the said John holde my myn heires & assignes fully content satisfied & paid in all manner things that ever was or myght be layde to the said Nicholas is chardge or hit father. And he the said Nicholas his heires and executores therin to be quite and fully dischardged for ever more, but onely in the contents of the said morgadge. In witenes wherof I prayd a public (?) notary to writt this general acquitence under his signe manuell, with myne owen subscription. Att Galway the xxviii of November the xxxvth yere of the Regne of our Soveraigne Lorde King henery the ight | 1543|| Being present, Mr. Jonekyn Lynche Mayor, Edmund Kyrwan, & Edmund Bodykyn, Baillives, the notary, and many others||

Per me

John Nell

Nicholas Molgan

publicus notarius."

These transcripts have been kindly given me by Mr. Martin Blake.

Leather and linen were sold in Wexford. Hore's Town of Wexford, 177.

P. 52, n. 3. In 1211 King John had robes which came from Ireland, and the next year received red and white cloth sent from Ireland. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. Nos. 420, 462. In 1212 Irish cloth was used in the Abbey of Abbotsbury, Dorset. Ib. Nos. 425, 500. In 1216 dyed cloth, russets, and habergets were ordered to be of a fixed width. Berry, Stat. 15. In 1250 Irish cloth was sold in Dublin market (Cal. Dub. Rec. 9), as in every other market of the country. See Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 2135. In Drogheda and other places there was Irish cloth, Galewith or worsted, and Irish jackets. Ib. iv. 311. Cloth—green, yellow, and red—was sent from Ireland in 1282 to supply the king's army in Wales. Ib. ii. 2009.

P. 52, n. 4. By an old custom of Galway every layman who wanted to be buried in the church had to give his best *cloak* towards the restoration fund, otherwise he was buried in the churchyard. O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 237.

P. 55, n. 1. In 1380 merchants of Portugal and Lisbon were allowed to travel and trade in Ireland freely, and merchants of

Ireland to go as freely there. Berry, Stat. 477. In 1453 a Portuguese ship carried from Ireland over £200 worth of leather, besides other goods. Cart. Bruges, Gilliodts van Severen, ii. 17. There was trade between Desmond and Portugal in 1568. C.S.P. 380. For cloaks and cloth laden at Galway for Spain in 1543, see Blake Rec. i. 86.

P. 55, n. 3. It is very difficult to measure the full extent of the trade. "In the Dutch market 'English serges' were held in superior estimation. But the goods so classed were in reality, to a great extent, Irish; and the author of the prize essay on 'The Natural Advantages of Ireland' shows how it was that our native manufacture, in this instance, lost its identity. The criterion of the buyer, he remarks, was a particular manner of folding and packing. Quantities of Irish serges used to be sent to England. They were then new-folded and packed by the English factors, who received a percentage for their trouble, and finally were exported to the Dutch market, under the denomination of English serges." Essays, Sarah Atkinson, p. 485.

In 1228 Flemish merchants deposited 300 marks in Dublin. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 1586. Foreign merchants were bringing into Ireland moneys made at Faukemont and divers other places in Germany, and it was permitted that money called the Ballards and like moneys, of which each pound is worth eighteen shillings, should run with the king's money. In 1299 a law to provide against loss by false moneys brought by these foreigners was agreed on, by advice of two burgesses from every burgh where the foreign merchants landed. Berry, Stat. 213. There was a trial concerning this German money the same year. Cal. Justic. Rolls, June 28, 1299.

In 1277-8 there was a trade dispute with Flanders, and commerce practically closed. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1369, 1403, 1404, 1421, 1437, 1538. The Countess of Flanders had committed depredations on English and Irish merchants to the value of £4,755. In 1279 the Count of Flanders annulled the seizures made of the goods of English, Irish, and Welsh traders. Cart. Bruges, Gilliodts van Severen, i. 89. The dispute was ended in 1286. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 188. In 1297 a merchant of Bruges De Coudreye complained of unpaid debt from merchants of the Society of the Bettilli of Lucca . . . all in Ireland who were indebted to the burgesses and merchants of the Count of Flanders were distrained to pay them. Cal. Justic. Rolls, June 16, 1297. In 1304 Irish leather and

wools at Bruges. Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch. iii. 624. In 1327 Waterford trade with Dinant and Bruges in wool, leather, and other merchandise. Ib. ii. 463. "En 1327 Jean Hasard, Thomas li Vias, Albredus de Scioteriou, Jean Jacob, mercatores de Dynaunt de regno Alemannie, chargent à Waterford en Irlande, un bateau à destination de Bruges." Dinant dans la Hanse Teutonique. H. Pirenne (Namur 1904), p. 7. "Dès la fin du XIII. siècle, ils (les Dinantais) embarquaient leurs cuivres à Damme, les dechargeaient à Londres, puis les empilant dans des chariots, s'en allaient de foire en foire les offrir aux acheteurs, poussant même parfois, comme on l'a vu plus haut, par une navigation plus lointaine, jusqu'à la côte irlandaise." Ib. p. 11. In 1344 Irish cloth and provisions sold in Sachsen Lauenburg, and Luneburg and Eslingen along the Elbe. Hans. Ur. B. iii. 24. In 1342, 1353 Irish cloth in Lübeck. Ib. ii. 725; iii. 682. In 1353 "Gheste de Yresche lakene habben edder sardoke eder syden wand, de ne moghen se nicht sniden to der elen, mer bi gantzen lakenen and doken scholen se de verkopen"; i.e. 'guests that' have Irish sheets or 'sarducks,' or silk stuff, they must not cut them up in ells, but shall sell them in whole sheets and pieces. Ib. iii. 483. Sardok was a rough cloth, half woollen, half linen. Cloth of flax and wool was called in Ireland "drugget," said to be derived from Drogheda. The "roll" of Irish linen seems to have been of 100 yards. In the Flemish market "pieces must not be cut longer than 42 ells, unless there is a mixture of yarns in them; penalty 12d. if they are cut longer without mixture of yarns." "Dits van der Saien. Ende dukerlinghe moet men niet langher sceren danne 42 elne lanc, het ne si tusshe scoten; die se langher scerde sonder ausscheschieten, hi verburde 12d." Ausscheschieten = weaving in of inferior yarn, mixture of wools. Espinas and Pirenne, Rec. Doc. Flandre, i. 377.

In 1282 it was ordered in Flanders that "Alle pleine lakene ende strijpte sal men maken elc van sire sonderlangher wulle, ende elc sal hebben sijn sonderlanghe teken: dats te wetene dat inghelsche van der inghelsche wulle sal hebben 3 crucen, ende die crucen sullen ligghen int erste velt, ende sie sullen wesen van diverser verwe dan dat laken es; tscotsche sal habben 2 crucen ligghende diere ghelike also als hier vorseit es, ende divers van verwen: ende thiersche sal hebben 1 cruce ligghende also hier vorseit es, ende divers van verwen; ende tvlaemsche sal hebben ½ cruce ligghende als hier vorseit es, ende divers van verwen": i.e. all pieces, plain and striped,

must be made of its proper wool, and each shall have its proper mark, viz. the English of the English wool shall have 3 crosses, and the crosses shall lie on the first fold (?), and they shall be different colour from the piece; the Scottish shall have 2 crosses in like manner, and of different colour; and the Irish shall have 1 cross in like manner, and of different colour; and the Flemish shall have ½ a cross in like manner, and of different colour. Ib. i. 389, 396.

In 1360 Irish trade with Flanders. Hans. Ur. B. iii. 265. In 1360 Irish cloth at Hamburg. Ib. iii. 537. In 1383 Charter of Graf Ludwig assuring freedom of trade to merchants of the Irish nation in Flanders. Ib. iv. 773, n. 1.

In 1296 Edward I., Lord of Ireland, gave the Flemish the right to trade in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales for wool and other merchandise. Cart. Bruges, i. p. 87. In 1323 Irish ships were coming to the staple of Bruges. "Item Dengleterre, Yrlande, Escoche ne doit estre aucun portaige se non seulement de char, saumon, sien, beere, grasse, dont chacun maronnier a quartre barils." Ib. 156. In 1404 Irish ships with merchandise were carrying on a smuggling trade. Ib. 435. In 1497, after the ordinance against foreign cloth, a clamour arose from all the poor in the Netherlands that they should be allowed still to buy the cheap Irish (yersshe) cloaks, Scot kerseys, "mantelakenen," "ghemeene lakenen," "ghewrene lakenen," and other cloths "stocbreeden." The wholesale and retail sale of these cloths and linens by the strangers was therefore allowed. Ib. ii. 314. In 1548 leather and skins were carried to Bruges from Cork. Ib. iii. 35. In 1549 an Ostend ship carried two bales of Irish cloaks. One bale had 40 cloaks of the large kind, at 45 solz each; 3 cloaks of the smaller kind at 20 solz each; and 30 yards of frieze at 3 solz the Flanders yard. The other bale had 40 large mantles, 51 small, and 30 yards of frieze. Ib. iii. 50. In 1549 a ship loaded at Limerick for Bruges with 4,440 salted hides, 75 bales of skins, 3,000 sheep-skins, 300 calf-skins, 500 lamb-skins (counting 120 for 100 not packed in bales), four "quarteaulx de molases" (honey, or mead?), a tun of beef, a tun of pork, a pipe of salmon, 24 seal-skins. Ib. iii. 52. In 1563 trade is mentioned between Bruges and Ireland. Ib. iii. 154. In 1580 the Irish and Scotch trade in wool were carried on apart from England, for staple dues were fixed for these and other countries, "excepte Dangleterre qui a son tonlieu à part." Ib. iii. 276. In 1556-7 Abraham Kerste, factor and attorney for Hubarte Van de Sande and

John Hone, of Andewarpe, merchants, was trading under a safe conduct to the state of Antwerp. Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 380.

Rudolf Häpke, in Brügges Entwicklung, p. 72, gives a few references to Irish trade. In 1252 Irish hides from Ulster were known in Bruges—"duodena coriorum, que dicuntur vulsters." Hans. Ur. B. i. n. 432. In 1273 merchants from Ireland were selling wool in Flanders. Varenbergh, Relations diplomatiques entre Flandres et l'Angleterre, 208. In 1303 a tax was laid on the great sack of Irish wool. Cart. Bruges, i. n. 140. In 1387 evidence of Irish trade is given in Bulletins de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, Brüssel, 2 xii. p. 39, n. 1519; p. 43, n. 2203. In 1404 two Irish ships were in Swin. Cart. Bruges, i. n. 521.

A. Kiesselbach, in Die wirthschaftlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Hanse, p. 73, speaks of the import of woollen stuffs from Ireland by Hamburg ships in the thirteenth century, and says "In a *privilegium* of 1297" (the document is printed in the Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch, vol. i. No. 1251) "the safe use of all Scottish ports is assured to Hamburg and Lübeck ships." For the Hanseatic trade to "Schottland und Irland" in the fourteenth century he quotes Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch, vol. iii. No. 579, 580.

In Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 23, 745, f. 19, a case is quoted of merchants of Waterford (1423), whose ship was seized for carrying merchandise to Sluys, in Flanders, instead of to Calais, according to a statute made in England. 2 H. vi. c. 4.

In 1326 the staple towns for Ireland were Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork. Berry, Stat. p. 315. In 1353 wool was allowed to be exported from Dublin, Drogheda, Cork, and Waterford also. Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch, iii. 571.

In 1282 "ende ware dat sake dat iemene wilde sai doen sceren an die rechte, dat men se soude sceren om 5 d. so wie dies te doene hevet." Espinas and Pirenne, Rec. Doc. i. 380, 185. We read of the "wild English" cloth of the Russian market, and "wild" cloths in Lübeck. Hans. Ur. B. ix. 352, 558. Were these the rough Irish frieze carried by English merchants, and sold by them as the wild or savage cloth of the "wild Irish"? There can be no doubt, considering the extent of Irish trade with England, that large quantities of Irish cloth went through English merchants to the Continent.

P. 55, n. 4. Irish wool was sold in the Low Countries in the thirteenth century. Espinas and Pirenne, Rec. Doc. i 196, 443, 457, 469. The only wool mentioned in these records was im-

ported from Spain and from Ireland. In 1265 Irish merchants sold wool at Bruges and Damme. Cart. Bruges, Gilliodts van Severen, i. 49, 50. The sack of wool in Ireland was larger than in England, and the custom on it was half a mark; 300 wool fells made one sack. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. Nos. 1305, 1429. Each sack had 42 pieces (ib. iii. p. 9); that is, 42 stone, and each stone 13 lbs. in weight. These fifty great sacks of good wool cost 300 marks in 1284. Ib. No. 13. In 1254 fifty sacks of white, dry, and marketable wool was counted at 275 marks. Ib. ii. No. 431. The export was very large. Bendinus Panyk and the society of the merchants of Lucca owe £400 for the custom of 1,200 sacks of wool, Dublin, 1292. 14 Pipe Roll, xx. Ed. I.

P. 56, n. 1. For the leather trade in 1275, see Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. No. 1117. The Charter Book of the Corporation of Dublin preserved two wills dated 1388 and 1440. "They are perhaps the earliest wills on record in this country." The first begins: "Inventarium omnium bonorum Johannes Hamound." . . . The tenter house for stretching and drying skins = "domo tantoris." Oak bark (barkett), and overleathers (overleddys) are mentioned. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 106-8. Irish leather was sent to Bruges and Dinant in 1304 and 1327. Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch, iii. 624, ii. 463. A Portuguese ship carried over £200 of leather from Ireland in 1453. Cart. Bruges, G. van Severen, ii. 17. Cork sent leather to Bruges. Ib. iii. 35.

P. 57, n. 3. In Blake Records, i. 126-8, the wages paid to masons in Galway in 1585 are given as 8d. and 1s. a day, with "for their entry first a quart of wine" at 6d. The names given of the timber-men and carpenters are Irish.

P. 58, n. 2. In 1222 orders were sent to Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Limerick, and the other ports of Ireland, to cause galleys to be made in each port for the defence of the king's realm of Ireland. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 1049. Cf. Gilbert, Hist. and Mun. Doc. 100. In 1226 ships of Waterford went out to foreign places. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 1404. In 1589 two ships of Waterford were sold at Lisbon. Other ships are promised to be sold into Spain. C.S.P. 347. Repairing of ships. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. No. 96.

P. 61, n. 2. The castle at Tuam is mentioned in the continuation of the Annals of Tighernach, Rawlinson, B. 488 (a Bodleian manuscript). This continuation was written in the fourteenth century, and has been published in the Revue celtique, t. xviii. pp. 150-197, 267-303. The passage, p. 195, runs as follows:

> Caislén ingantach do denum la Ruaidhri hua Conchobair a Túaim da gualand,

which means "A wonderful castle was built by Ruaidhri hua Conchobair in Tuam." Dr. Lynch wrote of it: "The former annals likewise record that Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair, king of Ireland, built a wonderful castle at Tuam, which was admired as a novelty, not because it was of stone and the others of wood, but probably because it was provided with arches, or adorned with some other unusual style. The walls of this castle are standing at the present day. In the peaceful days of the church, it was the dwelling of the archdeacon of Tuam." Camb. Ev. ii. 191. This is quoted in Harris' Ware, p. 134. Ware himself (Prelates of Ireland, ed. 1705, p. 2) held that Roderick's castle, "as a thing new and unusual to the Irish in those days, was called the 'Wonderful Castle'"; and adds in the margin, "Stone Buildings unknown to the Irish till the year 1161." Cf. his Antiquities, 1705, p. 52. Unfortunately Dr. Petrie never completed his projected work on the Military Architecture of the Irish. Mr. Goddard Orpen has made a careful study of Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland, which should be consulted. Soc. of Ant. June 1907, Sep. 1908, vols. xxxvii. and xxxviii.

P. 61, n. 3. This list in Irish was copied in an eighteenth century hand, and the sources are not given. All the owners of the castles named are of Irish race. An English list was drawn up *tempo* Elizabeth, which gives the sum of the Clare castles as 172; in this there occur 67 of the names given in the Irish list. In the centuries after the Norman invasion the Irish as well as the Normans built forts of stone and lime.

P. 62, n. 2. In 1245 masons and other workmen were sent over from Ireland to build fortifications in Wales. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 2768.

P. 63, n. 3. "The Great Gem of Colum Cille," a cross sent him by Gregory the Great—"and that is a cross extant to-day," says a MS. before the eleventh century. It was said to be preserved in Tory island in 1532. Colum Cille's poem was in return for the cross. Lib. Hym. 23, 141.

P. 65, n. 4. A few among many instances of wealth in mediaeval times before and after the Anglo-Norman settlement may be noted. Turlough O'Conor (d. 1156) gave crosses, distiches, and silver chalices to Clonmacnois, some plated with gold; and bequeathed to the clergy 450 ounces of gold and 40 marks of silver, with gold and silver vessels, gems, and other riches. Camb. Ev. ii. p. 61. For the gifts to Mellifont in 1157, see 4 M. A tribute of 420 ounces of pure silver was taken instead of seven score cattle. 4 M. an. 1161. "A peace was

afterwards concluded between the foreigners and the Irish; and six score ounces of gold were given by the foreigners to O'Lochlainn, and five score ounces of gold were paid by Diarmid Ua Maeleachlainn to Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair for West Meath." 4 **M.** an. 1162. In 1168 Ruaidhri O'Conchobhair "commenced his reign with a present of a gold shrine, superior to any that had yet been seen in Ireland, for the relics of St. Manchan of Moethail." Camb. Ev. ii. 75. See 4 M. 1166. See Christian Inscriptions, Miss Stokes, i. 3, and n. 3. "Donnell O'Brien had gone to his house at Dunlo, where he was entertained for a week; and O'Conor gave him sixty cows out of every cantred in Connaught, and ten articles ornamented with gold; but O'Brien did not accept any of these, save one goblet, which had once been the property of Dermot O'Brien, his own grandfather." 4 M. an. 1189.

After the Norman invasion the dealings of Irishmen with the crown to have possession of their lands shews that they had considerable wealth. In 1215 the king of Connacht paid the king 5,000 marks for his land, and a rent of 300 marks. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. Nos. 653, 654, 656, cf. 900. Muriard O'Bren shall give the king 1000 marks in two years, and 100 marks a year (ib. No. 669), or Duncan Carebrach 800 marks. Ib. No. 673. Rents or payments were made with Kathel, King of Connacht, O. King of Keneleon, Dunekan Obren, Muriardac Obren, Dermot Macarthi, Loueth MacDoncwhod. Ib. No. 1001. In 1228 Moriar de Haghobren offered 80 marks increased rent and £1,000 for certain land which had been leased at £100 a year to Duncan Macarbragh. Ib. i. 1636. Conehorn O'Bren was to give in 1240, 2,200 marks to the king for the land which his father held by charter from John. Ib. i. 3054. In 1253 Conor O'Brien offered to give the king for the land which he held on lease in Thomond 2,000 marks entry, and £100 a year annual rent; or £1,000 entry, and 200 marks a year rent; or no payment for entry, and 300 marks a year rent. Ib. ii. No. 273. In 1251 O'Brien of Thomond offered £500 for a grant in fee of land. Ib. ii. No. 3114.

In 1285 Cathal O'Conor gave bond for 1,000 marks of silver to have his portion. Ib. iii. No. 172. In 1285 an Irish chaplain was ransomed for £100 from the justiciary. Ib. iii. No. 90. In 1290 Calvagh O'Conor of Offally found pledges for a fine of 1,000 marks to be liberated from prison. Ib. iii. 1018. In 1331 a statute ordered that fines for redemption were henceforth not to be taken in cows but in money. Berry, Stat. 327.

The Norman lords had amassed great wealth. The Archbishop of Tuam in 1288 possessed cups and ewers of silver, cups, ewers, dishes, spoons and plates of gold, silver and silver gilt, cloth of gold, silken shoes, linen for tablecloths, furs, and stores of figs, dates, etc. In the Church of Athlone he had mitres, crozier, silk copes, silken frontals for the altar and many other rich things. Much of this may have been gathered by his Irish predecessors. Knox, Tuam, 110. In 1295 it was complained of Hugh Purcel, Sheriff of Tipperary, that he broke into the castle of Dounhochil, broke open chests and coffers, and took goods to the value of £500, viz. £50 in money, robes, tablecloths, napkins, sheets, hacquetons, gambisons, habergeons, helmets, spears and bows and other armour, 68 charters of feoffment, . . . cups and silver spoons, gold rings, precious stones, brooches, girdles woven with silk and other jewels . . . brass pots, cauldrons, and dishes . . . 471 cows . . . 180 afers . . . 48 stud mares . . . 48 oxen . . . 1,500 sheep, 400 lambs, 215 pigs, 150 goats, 80 kids, 46 bacons, 7 tons of flour, 4 tons of ale. . . . Cal. Justic. Rolls, May 13, 1295. Statutes of 1299 and 1300 forbid the carrying abroad of plate and silver vessels. Berry, Stat. 225, 239. In 1270 one lord paid to another a fine of 3,500 marks for the custody of the lands and tenements in Ireland that belonged to Maurice Fitzgerald. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 867. In 1293 Theobald Butler paid a fine of £1,000 for his marriage. Ib. iv. 57.

The revenue derived by the king from Ireland in the thirteenth century was greater than that which the Tudors received from it. In 1278 it was over £6,000. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1496. The receipts from 1278 to 1284, given in ib. ii. No. 2284, were usually from £5,600 to £6,600: the "foreign receipt" so-called, customs, Irish fines, etc., from 1279 to 1284 came to nearly £10,740, and the total account was nearly £42,000. According to another account the revenue from 1278-1285 was about £7,500 a year. Ib. iii. No. 42. In 1286 the receipts for three-quarters of the year were £5,240. Ib. iii. No. 251. In 1293 the fifteenth granted to the king amounted to over £3,278. Ib. iv. No. 48. And again £900. Ib. No. 90.

The aids to the "imperial" exchequer were considerable; very large sums, and frequent, were sent over to England from Ireland. Henry III. ordered all sorts of payment to be made out of his Irish treasure—for his foreign wars and costs, his favourites, his alms, his debts, his gifts to churches, his wardrobe, his household expenses, and for the king's use generally,

golden fringe for his flag, silk hangings for Westminster, and such like. See Cal. Doc. Sweetman. For example, 2,000 marks of Irish treasure was sent over in 1230 (ib. i. 1781); 2,000 marks and £1,000 in 1239 (ib. i. 2473, 2474); 3,000 marks at least, and as much more as possible to Gascony in 1243 (ib. i. 2612). In 1235 Henry III. ordered his payments to the king of Man for guarding the coasts, to be receivable in Ireland yearly by the hand of the justiciaries—40 marks, 100 crannocks of wheat, and 5 hogsheads of wine. Ib. i. 2269. The Spanish peril appeared very early on the scene. In 1253 Henry III. wrote to Maurice Fitzgerald that the king of Castile with an army of Christians and Saracens was about to enter the king's land of Gascony, aspiring thence to enter England and Ireland. Maurice was therefore ordered to go with horses, arms, and a strong force. The king will ever feel grateful to those who assist him in encountering this urgent pressure, while he must lose confidence in those who abandon him. This was of course followed by orders for wattles, ships, bridges, and great stores of provisions. Ib. ii. Nos. 305, 310. From 1278-1285 about £30,000 were delivered into the king's wardrobe and elsewhere. Ib. iii. 42. A surprising amount of money and provisions was sent to the Welsh wars in 1285. For example, in money 1,000 marks (Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. p. 13); over £9,000 (ib. No. 59); all the profits of Ireland, except reasonable expenses incurred in its custody (ib. No. 75); the whole of the customs on wool and hides (ib. No. 77); in 1286, 1,000 marks for the castles of Carnarvon and Conway (ib. No. 248, 259); in 1289, 2,000 marks to Carnarvon (ib. 598, 830).

P. 70, n. 4. The wealth which could be gained by English officials was an old story. In 1285 a statement as to the exchequer explains how the justiciary of Ireland became rich. His profits indicate the very great trade which passed through his hands, and the use he made of it. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. pp. 12-14, 180-2, 255, 258; iv. 93, 143, 183. For the wealth of the Archbishop of Dublin in 1295, see ib. i4. 275. In 1421 the heirs of Sir John Stanley "are greatly enriched and aggrandised by the goods of your said land." Berry, Stat. 569. After the planting of Munster and the Elizabethan wars, Dr. Lynch wrote: "I could give a history of 600 other Englishmen who rapidly amassed colossal fortunes in Ireland. But the narrative would detain me too long. Donchadh O'Briain, earl of Thomond, one day speaking in a company of Englishmen at Clonmel, with the president of Munster, one of the swarm of

those three-farthing adventurers who every day were acquiring such enormous wealth: 'Ireland,' said he, 'is another India for the English, a more profitable India for them than ever the Indies were to the Spaniards.' India gave to the Spaniards gold and silver only, but Ireland supplied the English not only with immense treasures of ready money, but also with extensive estates, and high titles." Cambr. Ev. iii. 75.

P. 75, n. 1. In London, "although this city has no building in the Italian style, but of timber or brick like the French, the Londoners live comfortably." Italian Relation, 42, Camden Soc. 1847.

P. 75, n. 2. For the Irish stone castles and the thatched banqueting halls attached to them, see Stanyhurst, De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis, Antwerp, 1584, quoted by Mr. Justice Madden in his Classical Learning in Ireland, pp. 84, 89-95. "So these chieftains—I always except O'Neill, who rules in Ulster, for he, because he is a bitter opponent of British rule, keeps his camp for the most part in fields of herbage [lit. fennel; cf. in foeniculariis campis, Cic.]—own castles, strongly constructed, as regards fortification, and mass of stone-work, with which are united, by a close connexion, fairly large and spacious halls, constructed of a compound of potter's earth and mud. These are not securely roofed either with quarried slates, or with rough-hewn stones or tiles, but are as a rule thatched with straw from the fields. In these halls they usually take their meals; they seldom, however, sleep except in the castles, because it is possible for their enemies with great ease to apply to the covering of the halls blazing torches, inflamed by the fanning of the wind, since that kind of stuff takes fire very rapidly."

P. 75, n. 3. On the house of Ballinacor after Fiach O'Byrne's death. "How is this dwelling now within itself? inside of which we used once to see women, and abroad before its walls young men in companies at practice of athletic sports, of shooting. From morning till the evening's cloud—as though it had been a public banquet-house—there was gay uproar of lasses and lads outside, along the rampart of the ornamental lawn that lay exposed to the [summer's] heat. There it was that we were witness of a man out of every airt in Ireland, after his having [already] for a season served in hardships of spears, [yet coming thither and] learning farther feats and martial games. There it was that sons of chiefs devoid of melancholy or of lassitude did most abound, on their own account dealing out their valuables in reward of the strains of harpstrings played around them.

There it was that Fiach himself was wont to be—in the bright well-appointed mansion's centre—and panegyrists with their polished *duans*, and the weapon-wounded lying to be healed. There it was that I found it wonderful—considering all that I saw of Ireland's poets [there]—that of his own free will he devoted himself to each individual man in order to dissipate the desire [*i.e.* to gratify the demands] of the schools." O'Grady, Cat. 508.

P. 76, n. 2. About the castle of Enniskillen the Maguire had almost a ballibetagh of land, which he manured, or tilled, with his own churls. Davies, p. 255.

P. 79, n. 4. In 1521 the kerns' harness was a corselet of mail made like a shirt, and his skull covered over with gilt leather and crested with otter-skin. Soc. of Ant. 1868, p. 191.

P. 80, n. 2. The growing importance of mercenaries in the lengthening wars is indicated in O'Grady's Cat. 427.

P. 83, n. 2. A Spanish enemy in Munster, 1579, reported: "Although they are devoid of all polite training, they nevertheless treat each other with such kindness and urbanity, that during six months, I did not see even the soldiers come once to blows: this spirit of concord seems to extend to the horses and dogs, wherefore, I am disposed to refer it all to the mildness of the climate and temperature."

"The men salute each other with a kiss: the women also salute each other in the same manner." Moran's Archbishop's, 91-3. For the salute with a kiss by Murchad at the battle of Clontarf see Wars of the Gaedhil, ed. Todd, p. 171.

P. 85, n. 2. "If you except the port towns, there are no hotels or lodging-houses to be found in the island. Every traveller sets up in the first house he meets, and there is provided with whatsoever he desires, gratuitously.

"Table is not usually laid until evening, but in the meantime drink is not denied to travellers.

"They arise at midnight for prayer and meditation, to which some devote an entire hour, others half an hour: the fires are always lit at the same time." Moran's Archbishops, 91-3.

P. 86, n. 3. "They eat a great deal when food can be found; but they also fast with alacrity for two or even three days.

"On Wednesdays they abstain from flesh-meats; on Fridays, from white-meats and milk.

"There are eight sorts of draughts: beer made of barley and water, milk, whey, wine, broth, mead, usquebagh, and spring water." Moran's Archbishops, 91-3.

P. 87, n. 1. "They do appear (in the upper sort) very kind and hospitable to all new comers, as I did well experience in this country, even so much as (if my own lands were here) I would hazard my dwelling with them for life. I was often well entertained, and in some sort got ill will for speaking in praise of their civil usage among our own commanders, whom I often told that tho' I was sent out to fight with some, there did appear no reason for my not eating with others. I was well used, and therefore am in duty bound to speak well of the Irishry." Harrington, Nugae Antiquae, i. 177, 1804.

P. 89, n. 3. At the Norman settlement the Government was careful to maintain Irish agriculturists on the land. When John claimed two thirds of Connacht he ordered that the villeins and fugitives who had fled away should return to farm or do the king's pleasure therein. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. Nos. 222, 223, 279. Cf. No. 2706. Irish tenants did the agricultural work on the lands of English lords, ib. ii. Nos. 52, 135, 179, 269; iii. 147, 459, p. 250, 266, p. 353, p. 313. The last instance shows how insecure was an Irishman's tenure if an Englishman wanted his land. In 1293 the services and fines of the Irish were considerable, for out of them the justiciary was to have compensation of over £1178. Ib. iv. No. 48. Some of these services are mentioned in No. 86, among them two services of the army of the new vill of Leys. The fines are frequently mentioned, *e.g.* No. 129.

P. 90. n. 1. The "orchard" of Inishowen seems to have been famous; it was cut down by Rory O'Conor in 1157. 4 M. p. 1127. In 1216, in making the English castle at Clonmacnois, the fruit trees were cut down, and cows, horses, etc., taken away. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 694. The wood of wild damsons at Iniscaltra may represent an old orchard there.

There is an interesting note on the price of trees in the Common Pleas of Dublin: 200 apple trees, value £20; 100 pear trees, value £10; 30,000 ash, value £200; 1,000 alders, value £60. Cal. Just. Rolls, May 20, 1302.

P. 91, n. 3. Compare the account of this country in 1709. "I observed scarcely any corn or enclosures but old ruined ones of stones heaped along in rows, which way of enclosing land, by being so frequently met with in many parts of Ireland, seems once to have been much in use.

"We came in two hours, through good roads and an open country; nothing of enclosures, but some scrubs and bogs." Journey to Connacht, Misc. Irish Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 164, 166.

P. 91, n. 4. The cartulary of Bruges mentions honey, salt-beef, and pork among the imports of Bruges from Ireland.

P. 93, n. 6. The Irish had much tillage. The compiler of the Leabhar Oiris (Ériu i. 98) states that 360 sacks of meal passed into Rath Raithlean every day. There was an immense export of corn and provisions. To take fifty years alone, 1200 to 1250, the Calendar of Documents, ed. Sweetman, has 28 entries giving to various monasteries the right to buy provisions in Ireland. (See i. Nos. 117, 149, 167, 186, 242, 494, 908, 943, 982, 1,052, 1,093, 1,131, 1,370, 1,532, 1,560, 1,626, 1,934, 1,937, 1,995, 2,065, 2,263, 2,371, 2,498, 2,839, 2,859, 2,924, 3,149, 3,182.) From 1200, and probably long before, it seems that the abbeys in the wilder parts of Lancashire, such as Furness, regularly imported their victuals from Ireland. They probably went there for the better class of foods, *e.g.* wheat, as Lancashire grew mainly barley and oats. Victoria County Hist. of Lancashire, 272-3; where references are given to Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-81, p. 250; 1307, p. 203, etc.; 1292-1301, p. 579. In the same fifty years there are 34 other entries of provisions to be sent to Wales, Scotland, or England for the King's use. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 706, 827, 944, 957, 1,040, 1,055, 1,276, 1,285, 1,377, 1,447, 1,917, 2,073, 2,108, 2,248, 2,269, 2,271, 2,424, 2,429, 2,531, 2,687, 2,696, 2,733, 2,768, 2,795, 2,803, 2,831, 2,835, 2,836, 2,882, 2,925, 2,931, 2,934, 2,937, 2,986. Corn, wheat, oats were sent in very large quantities, also hogs and herrings, etc. The price of a crannock of wheat in 1251 was 40d., and a crannock of oats 18d. See ib. i. 3,203. In 1294 a crannock of wheat was valued at five shillings, a crannock of oats at twenty pence, cows at four shillings apiece. Ib. iv. No. 131. For the capacity of a crannock *v.* Gilbert, Hist. Mun. Doc. p. xxxiv.

This traffic never ceased. In 1245 the king bought in Ireland cloth, hides, iron, salt, wines, corn, hogs, and other provisions for Wales. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 2,795. In 1267, 63s. 9d. was spent in carrying and guarding 80 crannocks of corn to Chester. Pipe Roll. li. Henry III. In 1283, 75 crannocks of wheat were bought for the king's use, and 50 crannocks sent for the army in Wales. Ib. xi. Ed. I. In 1284, hire of houses to store wheat when brought to Drogheda from Slane and other parts of Meath for the King's army in Wales . . . wheat bought to be sent to Connacht for the Justiciar. Ib. xii. Ed. I. See also the large sums spent in provisions for the king's forces and castles in Wales; for example, over £1,980 in one account. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. No. 42, 736. In 1288, wheat

and oats sent to the king's army in Wales. Pipe Roll, xvi. Ed. I. From 1294 the entries begin again. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iv. No. 164, 169, 170, 182 (where 20 or 30 vessels are ordered to be laden), 204, 271, 345, p. 165, N. 465, and so on. The references are very frequent; in fact, it might almost be said that Wales was subjugated by means of Irish aids and taxes. Welsh fugitives took refuge with the patriot bishop of Armagh, who, however, was ordered to excommunicate them, 1287. Ib. iii. No. 359. The sympathy of the Irish themselves was wholly with the Welsh. Thomas Fitzmaurice wrote that on account of the Welsh war the Irish were elated beyond their wont; some have raised war and others are ready to raise it. Ib. iii. No. 360.

If Irish soldiers and wealth were used to conquer Wales, Welsh mercenaries in return were used to subdue the Irish, from 1270 onwards. Ib. i. p. 147, iii. Nos. 548, 683, 936, 1,032, 1,116, iv. 98, pp. 46-7, 83, 123, 164, 169, etc.

Ireland provided at the same time for the war in Gascony. In 1294, provisions bought for Gascony. Ib. iv. No. 150, 179, 197, 204, 256, 278, 307-310, 318, 323, 398, 400, 463, pp. 166, 217. Lapo Tynache, merchant of Florence, and his fellow merchants got in lieu of the debt owed by certain men, of money, wheat, and oats, "the whole crop (Vestura) of their lands in Balynelan in Co. Cork, and all cattle there." Cal. Just. Rolls, 13 July, 1295. In 1296, corn, horses, and oats were sent to Bayonne for the army in Gascony. Hore, Old and New Ross, 163. The king caused to be collected by his ministers through the whole of Ireland, corn, according as each possessed it, saving what was necessary for his sustenance, for the provisioning of Gascony. Cal. Justic. Rolls, Ap. i. 1297. Louel robbed the Lombards of corn to the value of £20 . . . Bachiler robbed the fishermen of Leys at the Norrath . . . Ib. July 21, 1297. In 1297, £106 13s. 4d. was allowed to provide provisions for the king's army in Gascony. 17 Pipe Roll, xxv. Ed. I. Corn and provisions bought for Gascony. Ib. xxv. Ed. I. The Society of Lucca . . . allowed certain sums expended in buying wheat for king's army in Gascony; Dublin allowed money for carrying horses and arms to Flanders for the expedition of the king's army. Ib. xxv. Ed. I. In 1298 the account of Hugh Moriz and John le Marechall gave sums expended for wheat, oats, wheat malt, oat malt, wine, cheese, hogs, salt, wheaten flour, etc. (Drogheda). Like account of William de Meones, corn and provisions to be bought at Cork, Yoghell, Waterford, and

Dungarvan, wheat, cows, pigs, mutton, herrings, haddock, etc., 18 Pipe Roll, xxvi. Ed. I.; various sums expended in taking wheat and oats for Gascony in the counties of Dublin, Kyldare, Katherlach, Typerary, Kylkenny, Waterford, Cork, Lymerick (this account is very interesting, giving prices and procedure in collecting the corn); sums to buy corn and provisions at Dublin, to carry "wool and hides beyond the sea for the king's use," and to buy "wheat, oats, wheat malt, oat malt, wine, hogs, salt fish, salt, cheese, etc." Ib. xxvi. Ed. I. Provisions to Gascony, 1299. Berry, Stat. 217. Arnauld de Amlydones and Walter de Mariscus, mariner, agreed that Walter should carry in his ship to Bayonne 60 crannocks of wheat of said Arnauld, and there sell it as dear as he could for Arnauld's profit. Afterwards Walter leaving Bayonne against his agreement, went to La Rochelle, and sold the wheat there at his will for less than he could at Bayonne where it was freighted. The Jurors declared that Walter should satisfy Arnauld with the price which the wheat would have gained at Bayonne. Walter acknowledged that he had of Arnauld 4 pairs of letters directed to his wife and other friends in Gascony. Cal. Just. Rolls, Nov. 12, 1299.

Ireland provisioned also the war of Scotland. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iv. 462. In 1299 mention of bran sold at Waterford and Clonmel and Dublin, Cork and Kylmehallok, Ros, Kylkenny, Thomastown. 19 Pipe Roll, xxvii. Ed. I. In 1301 account of citizens of Dublin, assigned there to provide corn, wine and other provisions, to be sent to Scotland for the war; so much for wheaten flour; bran, old sacks and packs, and oats sold. Then sums spent in buying wheat, wheaten flour, peas, oats, red wine, beer, empty casks, in freights and in wages. 20 Pipe Roll, xxix. Ed. I. Discharge of sums expended "in gathering wattles to make hurdles to be put in the ships plying between Ireland and Scotland, with men and horses from Ireland for the Scotch war." 21 Pipe Roll, xxx. Ed. I. Adam de Bromp clerk of the king, was sent to survey provision made for bringing victuals to the use of the army of the king in his war of Scotland. . . . Adam, when the casks (tonelli) filled with flour were carried to Drogheda, and it was testified that the flour contained was of sufficient quality, desiring to mend one of the vessels which was very weak, found the flour contained in it at the two ends reasonably pure, but in the middle—(Article not completed). Cal. Just. Rolls, June 21, 1299. The king commanded that they should make provision in Ireland, as well of

wheat as other victuals, for the war of Scotland, and for sustenance of the king's hostel, and they assigned persons who would provision in sufficiently, and sent more than 600 quarters of dusty wheat husks in place of wheat, and wheat full of vetches, and received to their own use the good wheat which was provided for the king's provision. Ib. Oct. 3, 1300. Let a writ be made to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer of Dublin for the delivery to . . . the king's provisors of victuals there bought and sent into Scotland for the king's expedition of war there. Ib. July 1, 1302. In 1314 Edward II. ordered Wexford to provide 1,000 crannocks of wheat and oats, and Ross 60 casks of wine for Wales, also provisions for Scotland. Hore, Old and New Ross, 178. See also 1316, ib. 179; 1322, ib. 183. Provisions to England and Wales in 1323, Berry Stat. 293; for the Scotch war in 1342, ib. 341; secret export of fish and corn in 1355, ib. 399.

Further references to requisitions of corn and victuals will be found in Gilbert, Hist. and Mun. Doc. 103, 291-5, 320-58, 388-91, 503-17.

The number of people commissioned to raise provisions for war in Scotland and Gascony was prodigious.

In 1323 all merchants and others were declared by statute free to carry corn from Ireland to England and Wales. Berry Stat. 293. In 1358 in view of the coming of Lionel of Clarence, export of victuals was forbidden, Lib. Mun. Hib. 1. iv. 39; but licenses were still granted, ib. 41.

This agricultural trade continued for many centuries. A charter to Dundalk gave liberty to buy, sell, and export salted hides and other goods of the staple, and all merchandise growing in Ireland; or brought to Dundalk from England or other foreign country. Fiants of Henry VIII. 28 Aug. 1527. In 1539 corn was exported from Galway to Spain, France, and other foreign lands. H.M.C. Rep. x. app. v. p. 408. Orders were sent out before the coming of Essex (1575) that the *corn* in Ulster must be protected from the "rebels," showing the importance of the Irish tillage. Egerton, 2,790, f. 10, Br. Mus. It was suggested that traitors might be overthrown and yet not slain, but they might be kept from ploughing and farming. Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 33, 143. In 1546 a license to Francis Petoo of Kilmainham to export 500 pecks of corn and other grain, for a fine of 50s. Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 120. In 1546 license for Henry Sherwood and Richard Prowse to export 500 pecks of beans, peas, and corn, wheresoever they please. Ib. i. 123. In 1547

license for Robert Jans of Baggotrath to export 600 pecks of grain, for a fine of £3, that is a penny for each peck. Ib. i. 130. In 1547 license for Nicholas Handcock of Dublin, merchant, to export 600 pecks of corn or other grain. Ib. i. 130. In 1547 license to William Wise of Waterford, merchant, to export 1,000 pecks of corn or grain. Ib. i. 130.

P. 97, n. 1. The English, apart from any political questions, had a prejudice in favour of their own, and against any other system.

"The English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman,' and that 'it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman'; and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him, 'whether such a thing is made in *their* country?'" So an Italian traveller wrote in 1500. Speaking of exiled thieves and murderers, he adds: "It is not unamusing to hear, how the women and children lament over the misfortune of these exiles, asking 'how can they live so destitute out of England'; adding moreover, that 'they had better have died than go out of the world,' as if England were the whole world!" Italian Relation, Camden Soc. pp. 20, 35.

P. 97, n. 2. Thady O'Roddy wrote in the seventeenth century: "I have Irish books of all those five dialects; I have the books of our Law, being 30 in number (though my honoured friend, Sir Richard Cox, was once of opinion that our law was arbitrary, and not fixed nor written, till I satisfied him to the contrary in summer, 1699, by shewing him some of the said law books)." Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 123.

P. 98, n. 3. *v.* Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 103, 150-8, 179, 191

In 1293 an order was made against feoffments made by one to another, except to hold of the king in chief: but in land of war or in the marches feoffments might be made for the defence of the land. Berry, Stat. 193. By a statute of 1310 feoffments made with intent to rebel or commit felony were to be held for nought. Ib. 271. This order was renewed in 1320 (ib. 289); and in 1351 (ib. 383); and again in 1366 (ib. 453).

P. 100, n. 1. For public officers and soldiers paid by the chief, see O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 139-40. Some of the tributes paid to the king and the gifts of the king to his tributaries are given on pp. 142-3.

P. 106, n. 2. There was a grant to Milo le Bret to hunt and

take foxes and hares throughout the king's forests of Ireland. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. No. 100, Sep. 13, 1199. The king's forest is mentioned from 1200-1253. Ib. Nos. 478, 891, 892, 951, 3,164; ii. 112, 241. In 1225 orders were given that the men and vills in the forest shall not be disturbed. Ib. i. 1,317. In 1227 Henry III. ordered the forest in Connacht, which is a good chase, to be well kept, and none of it sold or given, so that the king when he goes to those parts may range through it. Ib. No. 1,512; also the Decies forest (ib. No. 1,513).

Forest-making for Archbishop of Dublin in 1207. Ib. Nos. 316, 477. His woods were disafforested in 1228. Ib. Nos. 1,657, 1,757.

Free chase and warren was occasionally granted in the thirteenth century and later. Ib. i. 2,680, 3,132; iii. 82, 309, etc.

There was evidently a considerable effort made to create Irish "forest," and its failure is interesting. The invaders seem to have felt the difficulty very early. John had made forests, and Justices of the Forest: but in 1216 the first law of Henry III. decreed that "All forests which were afforested in the time of King John, our father, shall be immediately disafforested; and so let it be done in the case of rivers which were placed in defence by the said John in his time." And further that certain chapters in the former charter as seemed grevious and doubtful, among others about forests and foresters, warrens and warreners, about customs of counties, and rivers and their keepers, it seemed good to the aforesaid prelates and magnates that these should be held over until we should have had fuller counsel. Berry, Stat. 19.

The Curragh of Kildare was common land where swine were anciently fed. This was forbidden in 1299. Ib. 217.

P. 106, n. 3. Even before the close of Elizabeth's reign this policy was being carried out, and Camden could write: "Yet it is infested with wolves on the wild and solitary mountains where there are few or no inhabitants." Britannia, ii. 1,312.

See in Misc. Celtic Soc. 1849, p. 353, the lament for the harbour-full country, the land of round-nutted woods, the smooth and well-placed land, fertile, warm, and music-loving; whose sons were called to *free her mountains* and protect her cattle from the rough hirelings of the English:

Much of blood have they shed on the plain
Many heroes, who should be lamented,
They have slain for a long time back
Throughout the land of the Gaeidhil of the ripe fields.

. . . . . .

Think of the false judgments of the English horde ;
Understand how there is treachery in their friendship ;
A passive secret should not be made of it ;
Think of their enormous slaughters.

Ib. 367. *c.* 1617.

P. 107, n. 2. A Greek traveller, who visited London about 1550, has left us the reports current there in that time of great hostility. Of England he says that the "nobles and rulers are replete with benevolence and good order and are courteous to strangers, but the rabble and the mob are as it were turbulent and barbarous in their manner as I have observed from experience and intercourse." Ireland he did not see, but this is what he learned about it in London : "They possess towns and cities. But the inhabitants reject political institutions and other importations with whatever else pertains to them. . . . As many indeed as live in cities and walled towns have something of human polity and administration. But such on the other hand as lived in forests and bogs are entirely wild and savage and there remains only the human form whereby they may be distinguished to be men." Most of them went practically naked, but such as appeared to live in a more civilized manner sewed together vestments of linens and hemp of all colours and clothed themselves in garments extending to their feet, and made after barbaric fashion. Nicander Nucius, Camden Soc. 1841. See also Andrew Borde's Introduction of Knowledge, which appeared about 1547, and was dedicated to the Princess Mary. "The thyrde Chapter treateth of Irland. And of the natural disposicion of an Irishe man, and of their money and speche.

'I can keep a Hobby, a garden, and a cart ;
I can make good mantyls, and good Irish fryce ;
I can make aqua vita, and good square dyce,'" etc.

(The dice represents another industry.) The usual tales are given of Irish sloth and barbarism, neither sowing nor baking, and boiling their meat in skins. The English of the Pale were testy and easily vexed. "Yet there be well-disposed people, as well in the English Pale as among the wild Irish, and virtuous creatures, when grace worketh above nature." The Irish dialogues, for a beginner's use, were the earliest printed in Irish. Published in the Early Eng. Text Society. Extra Ser. 10. 1870.

P. 108, n. 2. It is interesting to note how the land system which English landlords of the time determined to force on Ireland in the name of civility and philanthropy was actually

working in England itself. "All the lands of the nobility however are not in cultivation, for a great portion lies barren and waste; and I am told that there are more than 4,000 parks in England, all enclosed with timber fences." *c.* 1500. Italian Relation, Camden Soc. 1847, p. 39.

The land system which seemed so beneficent to the landlords was already falling under the indignation of the people of England. There is a significant prayer in the last Primer of Edward VI.: "We heartily pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling places of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor: give them grace also to consider that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, having here no dwelling place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling places."

The popular feeling is illustrated in a striking way in The Digger Movement, by Lewis H. Berens, 1906.

P. 112, n. 2. A curious comment of Stanihurst may be worth noting in relation to the position of the Irish peasant. "I have apposed sundry times the expertest men that could be had in the country, and all they could never find out an equivalent Irish word for knave." Hol. vi. 7.

In the hospitals every Irishman was entitled to sick maintenance according to the place and style to which the wounded man was accustomed. O'Grady, Cat. MSS. 79. There were only "three that are not entitled to sick-maintenance: a man who absconds from his chief, from his family, from a poet." Triads, Kuno Meyer.

P. 116, n. 1. Camden (Britannia, ii. 1312-13) gives an interesting gloss on the common accusation. "The natives are warlike, ingenious, proper and well complexioned, soft-skinned, and exceeding nimble through a peculiar pliantness of the muscles." . . . "The reason why it [Ireland] is now and then reflected on

is because of the inhabitants who are uncivilized in some places and, *which is strangely inconsistent, love idleness and hate ease.*"

P. 120, n. 4. "So that this day (though our nation lost estate, and all almost) there is not an ancient name of Ireland, of the blood royal thereof descended, but we can bring from father to father, from the present man in being to Adam . . . at this day, as poor as we are, we have a great value for those descended from the said antiquaries, etc., and left it to us in weather-beaten parchments standing for thousands of years." Misc. Irish Arch. Soc. 1846, I. 120, 122. The utmost degradation of a ruined clan was "that the best chroniclers in the kingdom are ignorant of their descents, and they are so common, having dwindled into mere churls, and poor labouring men, that scarcely one of the family knoweth the name of his own great grandfather." Ib. 189. The destruction of tombstones and inscriptions served further to efface family records.

P. 121, n. 5. In C.S.P. 1574, lxxvii.-lxxxi. the editor excuses the barbarities of the English wars in Ireland, and quotes the courtier's phrase "that Her Majesty's clement and merciful disposition towards her people is the greatest comfort, and that Elizabeth is the *amor Hiberniae* above all the princes that ever reigned." Ib. xcvii. He gives the case of a young O'Reilly, who, deserting his own people, was trying to secure the chiefdom by English nomination, not by Irish election, to shew "with what *fostering care anything like civility and labour* was cherished by the warlike spirits who were deputed to the task of governing Ireland in those times." Ib. cvii.

Hardiman writing in 1846 (Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. I. 89) comments on the fall of the O'Shaughnessy, once head of a noble family and chiefest for antiquity and nobility in his country, whose descendant at that day was what he calls "a beggar," in other words a barber. "The fate of this great family," he says, "affords a useful lesson": while the descendants of the burghers of Galway, who "followed industry," are numbered with the nobles of the land, those of the Milesian chiefs, and among them of the "Lord O'Saghnissy," who "despised industry," are numbered with its beggars. This moralising, however, only "affords a useful lesson" against the kind of history which was in fashion in his day.

P. 125, n. 4. Lib. Mun. Hib. I. iv. p. 86. Edward had already in 1336 sent over miners, refiners, and coiners. Ib. I. iv. 12, 13. Mines are mentioned in 1213 and 1234 and 1297; and lead mines in 1278. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, I. Nos. 464, 472, 2,111, 11.

1,516; IV. 456. In 1380 land owners were allowed to mine for gold. Berry, Stat. 477.

P. 130, n. 2. Theobald Dillon was employed in the subjection of Connacht, C.S.P. 1580-4, 423, 444, 542, 555, and was continually asking for rewards and maintenance. Ib. 228, 231, 239, 512, 562, 573. In 1580 MacCostello gave him a great portion of land and a fair ancient castle, Castle More, *for his friendship.* We may note the fact that Dillon was then applying to be High Sheriff of Mayo. Ib. 257, cf. 1581, 334. Dillon and his tenants inhabited the land. O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, 339. MacCostello was one of the Macs and Os who surrendered their Irish names and customs of inheritance to secure a title by English patent. Ib. 1585, p. 582. He immediately renewed the possession of the land to Dillon, who already held it. Annals Loch Cé, 1586. And the Commissioners reported on behalf of Dillon that he ought to be charged very little rent; to which Dillon added his own successful petition. O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, 339-340. O'Donovan, 4 M. iii. 99, says De Nangle was the original name of the Costelloes, who took their new surname from an ancestor Osdolbh, probably Scandinavian. Topographical Poems, Irish Arch. and Celt. Soc. 1862. Introd. 23. (Danes and Ostmen were stated to be Englishmen and entitled to English law, in 1290. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 622, 700.)

P. 130, n. 3. "I am assured," Agard added, "that he hath got more clear than the Treasurer shall if he were here this seven year."

P. 134, n. 2. Irishmen had to get special license to be allowed to use, or have the protection of, English law. The grant was sometimes given only to the one individual, sometimes also to his children. See grants of the two Edwards from 1279-1305. To William Naffan (Navan?). Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1,602; to Gregory Olidik (ib. ii. 1,775); to Simon Passelewe, born of an English mother though of an Irish father, that he and his heirs may for ever use in England and in Ireland English law and custom (ib. ii. 1,910); to Gerald FitzJohn, an Irishman, and to other Irish persons: Margaret de Lessan, Maurice de Lessan, Peter de Lessan, Andrew de Lessan, Benedict Fitz John of Armagh, William Beuk (ib. 2228); to Philip Cinurghethan and Simon and John his brothers, Irishmen (ib. iii. No. 64); to Mariota daughter of Macirechti, married to an Englishman, and to her children; to Rose daughter of Macinolisii, married to an Englishman; to Christopher son of Bonald Macinolisii (ib. No. 94); to Andrew of Ardach son of Augustine Ohothic; to Denis Conchowr Macmolisii; to Matthew of Ardach son of

Augustine Ohethick (ib. No. 153); to Maurice Fitz Alan, clerk, who had served the king faithfully and assiduously in divers counties in Ireland, that he may henceforth for his life use English laws in Ireland (ib. No. 165); to Gilbert MacAbram, an Irishman (ib. No. 311). In 1290-1292 to Maurice de Bre, an Irish clerk (iii. 677); to Isamaye and Matilda, daughters of O'Reilly (ib. 685). Petition from the Archbishop of Armagh that the King will grant English law to an Irish woman, Isamayo, married to an Englishman, because it is the custom in Ireland that Irish women may not take dower after the death of their husbands. If she survive her husband let the archbishop certify the King who will take counsel (ib. 558). Grant to Richard of Drumeskyn, an Irishman (ib. 697); to Philip Makbaghely, Andrew of Ardagh, Richard Cok (ib. 702); to Robert de Bree, citizen of Dublin (ib. 748); also to Ralph le Teynturer (ib. 748); to William son of Carmok the clerk (ib. 851); to Denethock Macdonethot (ib. 856); to Nicholas Odubabright (ib. 876); to Robert of Bray, citizen and merchant of Dublin (ib. 924); to Thomas Omelalith, an Irish clerk, that he and his children may use English laws; to Patrick and Nicholas Ocathel [O'Cahill] Irishmen (ib. 1,002, 1,004); to William son of Donald le Clerk, of Newcastle in Lyons, an Irishman (ib. 1,096); to Hugh Kent, of Ireland, liege burgess of Galway (ib. 1,174—cf. John of Kent, ib. 721); to Nicholas son of Brice; to Peter Clauthnan; to Richard and Walter Neel, and Roger Fitz David; to John de Clondowan and his brothers and sisters; to Nicholas de Mellifont, Gilbert Omoledich, physician, John son of Augustine of Ardagh, and Henry Carnan; to Alan, the baker, of Dublin; to Maurice de Bray; to Hugh Kent of Galway; to Nicholas Oflynnard (ib. iv. No. 19); to Roger of Newcastle, an Irishman, for the good service which John his son had rendered to the King in Scotland; and to Dermot O'Falvey, an Irishman, for his service in Scotland (ib. v. 11, 12); to Master Philip de Seche, Henry de Seche, Philip de Seche, clerk, Luke de Seche, and Maurice de Seche, Irishmen, to use English laws in Ireland; and to William de Nethebeyn, an Irishman (ib. v. 378, 379); to Richard Neel, of Clondalkin, an Irishman, and Peter his brother (ib. 386); to William Balygaveran, an Irishman (ib. 392).

In 1309 William Brown of Drogheda, Irishman, was given right to use English law. Lib. Mun. Hib. vol. i. part iv. p. 5. In 1316 Richard son of John Makeshiteruk "custumanno de Hibern" (ib. p. 7). Other names are given (ib. p. 26).

We may note that the sons of Irish mothers had to get license to use English law; in these cases the Irish name disappeared.

In a list therefore, which lies within a single generation, of Irishmen legally privileged to trade or become burghers in their own land, it appears that no more than one-third of them could be recognised by name as Irish, and among these in some instances the "O" was dropped, or the name of a town was taken. Two-thirds of the names, however, have been given an English or Norman form. Other proofs of this customary change of names may be found in this appendix, note to page 182, where men with English or Norman names were claimed as Irish villeins, and had to prove their foreign birth. The dropping of the Irish name under pressure of soldiers or officials or proclamations of outlawry, was older than the statute of Edward IV., and marked the whole course of English domination. See Emmet. Irel. under Eng. Rule, ii. 211.

A certain number of settled Norman and Danish families, during a limited time, and in certain districts, took Irish names; but their origin was never forgotten. It seems unlikely that a single one of these was ever so merged as to become counted among the original Irish septs. This very limited dropping of English names cannot be compared to the permanent extinction of Irish names, which continued for many centuries, and happened all over the country, and where the definite purpose was to hide a descent which would impede the career of merchants, traders, clerks, or those that wanted to receive a holding on their ancient lands. It is evident that in the towns there must have been numbers of Irishmen under alien names, whose activity and enterprise is claimed to the credit of the English.

P. 140, n. 2. In 1550 it was ordered by Edward VI. that all havens and ports were to be got into the king's hands; and that the commodities of the realm were not to be transported. Egerton, 2,790, Br. Mus. In 1566 George Lodge was appointed to stop the illegal export of merchandise from Ireland, with power to search all vessels in ports of Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Carlingford, Wexford, Waterford, Dongarvan, Galwaye, Youghall, Corke, Lymericke and Kynsale. Wares and merchandises prohibited to be exported were: wheat, beef, lard, bacon, butter, tallow, wax, wool, flocks, tanned leather, hawks, hobbies, horses, gold and silver, coined and uncoined. These had been exported by various merchants "only for theire pryvate gayne without consid^{n} of the ordinnances and to

the hindrance of provisioning of forts, &c., in Ireland." 'Fiants,' Elizabeth, 17 June, 1566. In 1567 Sidney complained that the Spaniards not only carried away fish "but also each thing else of any price which your country here breedeth as hide, tallow, fell, wool, and floxe, flesh, and yarn. All which were wont to be sold at the forenamed towns; and thereby they were maintained and enriched; and now, for want of the same, not a little impaired, and the people thereof enforced, for the maintenance of that little trade which is left with them, to use the same for ready money. Whereby all the treasure your Highness sendeth, is used out of this realm; and so will it be, though your Majesty sent as much as England breedeth. This mischief is no way to be helped, but by ministering of justice, and planting some civil people upon those barbarous places." Sid. Let. 24. In 1568 there was a group of English settlers "who mind to be suitors to the Queen for the fishing of the south and south-west seas of Ireland, and enjoying of certain havens, islands, and castles, and the incorporation of the town of Baltimore." C.S.P. 399.

P. 145 n. 1. It had been already ordered in 1326 that the commonalty—that is all who spent less than £40 a year—of England, Ireland, and Wales should use no cloth but cloth made in England, Ireland, and Wales. Berry, Stat. 319.

P. 146, n. 2. These licenses were very frequent—*e.g.* license to John Travers, to export within 7 years 33 sacks of wool to ports of Weschester, Lyrpole, and Brystow in England. Reports of D. Keeper of Pub. Rec. Fiants, Henry VIII. 15 June, 1534. License to Richard Forster to transport annually for 6 years 200 stones of wool from Ireland to any port in England. Ib. 20. April, 1537.

P. 148, n. 1. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the cloth trade seems to have been reduced to the rougher manufactures. "They shear the sheep twice a year and of the coarse wool make Irish rugs and mantles which are carried into foreign parts." . . . Camden, Britannia (1594) ii. p. 1312.

P. 153, n. 1. The complaint of the Irish woolgrowers against the staplers. 1619. MSS. Br. Mus. Add. 34,324, fo. 23.

The facte that the staplers forbeareth all manufacturers there; Walter White maketh a monopoly, whilst none may buy but they transport the same into forraine partes, at every passage, and some into England to the factor's owne profit.

The staplers employ not their owne stock there, but use by

bills of exchange to take the custom money to the great hindrance of the countrey people, and procuring great want of money in Ireland,

They cause the woolgrowers to sell at unreasonable low rates and prises, so as the country are thereby undone, as XI.^{d} a stone . . . whereas the like was sold in England for XIX.^{d}. . .

By reason of these prises, men omit nourishing of sheep there and are enforced to . . . laid their wolls into boates and other vessels to transport them to forraine partes, and let theire pastures for plowing, and arrable at easie rates . . . they want the good wooll growing from English sheep, and discourage the newe undertakers.

Informed, that when the custome of the cloth was the last yere 47,000 lib:, this yere it came but to 17,000 lib:, or thereabouts.

There are complaints of 1641 which give the reasons for the Irish dissatisfaction.

"All the trading, traffic, shipping, and riches of this whole isle, by the corruption of the state, are engrossed by the Dutch, Scottish, and English, not residing here, who exclude the natives wholly from the same; and who return the product, and all their stock and coin back unto their native countries.

"All the staple and rich commodities of the realm are turned to monopolies, and heavy impositions against law laid on all merchandise.

"The principal native wares of the land exported into foreign parts, unwrought and unmanufactured, thereby depriving the kingdom of all manual trades and occupations; and driving the natives to furnish themselves from head to foot, with manufactures from abroad, at very dear rates." Or again

"That though this isle doth abound with more native merchantable commodities, and export to other extern countries, a larger proportion thereof yearly, than any one of your majesty's dominions, and commonly double as much as it doth import hither from foreign parts, which, in all presumption, ought to make it exceed in wealth; yet is it in that deplorable state at this present, that our nobility and gentry are not able to support their calling, nor scarce subsist; and such is the general scarcity of money throughout this land, that tenants cannot pay easy rents, nor creditors be satisfied of any part of their debts; all trade and traffic within this land quite destroyed, and the kingdom reduced to a more deplorable estate than ever it was in

man's memory, which hath its offspring chiefly from these heads." Lodge, Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, ii. 79, 94, etc.

P. 154, n. 2. In 1251 there were mints in Dublin, Limerick and Carrickfergus. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. 3,201 ; in 1282 in Dublin, Waterford and Roscommon. Ib. ii. 1,930.

Stephen, bishop of Waterford 1273-1286, built houses for a mint, and coined a new money called Scalding, Bishop's money, or Stephening. Ib. iii. p. 7-8.

In August, 1284, Nicholas MacMolissa, the vigorous patriot archbishop of Armagh, was accused amongst other nationalist tendencies, that he coined money against the king's crown and that he has a stamp or stamps. He seems to have been concerned in large mercantile transactions. Ib. ii. 2,274. In September there was an ordinance to proclaim through all the mercantile towns that no money should be used save the king's coinage of England, Ireland or Scotland. Ib. No. 2,280.

German merchants brought false money, 1299. Berry, Stat. 213. The king sent his writ . . . although the king in his council ordained that no one, under penalty, should bring into the kingdom money called Pollard and Crocard, yet it does not appear, whether the money should run in his kingdom, or his land of Ireland, until otherwise ordained ; command to permit the burgesses and merchants of Bristol authorised under seal of the constable of the castle there, to come to Ireland and trade with such money until otherwise ordered. Cal. Justic. Rolls. Oct. 29, 1299. In 1300 Drogheda paid dear for buying merchandise with forbidden money. Berry, Stat. 231. Alexander Norman of Lucca was commissioned to make money of a certain standard. 1302, 21, Pipe Roll, xxx. Ed. I. In 1308 Edward II. ordered that the money of England and Scotland should be used in Ireland, and that no goods or victuals were henceforth to be sold or bought beyond their true value by reason of those moneys at a dearer price than they were wont to be. Berry, Stat. 245, 251. In 1310 a parliament was summoned at Kilkenny to enquire into the reason of the excessive increase of price of all things saleable. The reasons given by the council were that those of great lineage robbed the merchants passing through the country, or kept them for ransom, or bought, *as well in towns as in the woods*, bread, wine, beer, flesh, and other victuals and things saleable wherever they be without making reasonable payment. Ib. 259-69. This seems to indicate some conflict with the Irish as to accepting English money.

P. 154, n. 3. Thady O'Roddy, a great collector of antiquities in the seventeenth century, wrote: "I have seen and had several pieces of silver coin for our Irish kings and princes, with their names, but have none now in hand, and am in hopes to get some of the coin very soon. For our last Irish monarch, Roderick O'Connor (in whose reign Hen. the 2nd came into Ireland), had silver and gold coined for him at Clonmacnois and so had his father, Tordelvachus O'Connor, King of Ireland, and several of our kings, as our records attest." Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 115, 122. The first authentic coin is that of Sihtric, 989. The Hiberno-Danish coins in the Dublin Museum range from 989 to 1029.

P. 155, n. 4. In 1421 the king's lieges had prayed for a coinage within your land of Ireland as was done within your kingdom of England. Berry's Stat. 565.

P. 161, n. 6. The merchants of Galway as far as they could rejected the base coinage, as may be seen in the mortgage transactions, etc., given in Blake Rec. i. pp. 61, 68, 98, 105, 111, 117, 120, 128-9, 133, 134; ii. 22. Some of these deeds show how largely Spanish money was used in Galway in the sixteenth century. In 1558 a payment was made partly in marks of "Dominus Hiberniae" groats, partly in marks sterling. Ib. i. 103.

P. 169, n. 1. The fortifying of towns seems to have been the policy encouraged by the central government. Many towns remained unwalled. Ir. Stat. 1458. The townsmen were unwilling to spend their money. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 986. Waterford was to be walled in 1234, and again in 1243. Ib. iii. 2,133, 2,613: it seems to have put up some wooden defences, which were twice burned down before 1290. Ib. p. 309. Limerick was to be enclosed in 1237, but the citizens grudged their money for it. Ib. i. 2,405. Drogheda was to be walled in 1243, ib. i. 2,614; and again in 1278, ib. ii. 1,517. In 1266 Kilkenny was to be walled. Ib. ii. No. 796. This was apparently not yet done in 1282. Ib. Nos. 1,913, 2,136. Dublin in 1278. Ib. Nos. 1,465, 2,181. The Cork walls were to be improved in 1284, but the citizens seemed to prefer improving the port and bridges. Ib. ii. 2,247, 2,248. In 1286 Tralee, Mallow, and Ard, were ordered to be walled. Ib. iii. No. 226. Trim was to be enclosed in 1289. Ib. iii. 560. In 1291 Fethard was to be enclosed. Ib. iii. 1,015.

P. 169, n. 3. In 1360 it was to be publicly proclaimed in the towns that no mere Irishman of the Irish race should be made

mayor, bailiff, janitor, or other official or officer in any place subject to the king. Berry, Stat. 420.

In 1280 "The Irish had humbly prayed the king that he would of his grace grant to them that they might use and enjoy in Ireland the same laws and customs as the English, and that they might in future be governed by those laws and customs. The king being unwilling to comply without the consent of the archbishops, etc., commands them to meet on days to be appointed before the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (Sept. 8), at some convenient place, and there diligently to debate whether or not the king can, without prejudice to themselves, their liberties and customs, make this concession." Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1,681. The prohibition to use English law had the effect of barring out the Irish from the town courts, and rights of burgesses; and of hindering their inheritance of land. The petition of an Irish woman (1289) to inherit from her English husband by English law was adjourned. The king was to take counsel. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. p. 252.

P. 169, n. 4. In 1293 Philip Wodeloc of Drogheda was fined 114s. for cows bought of felons, a word commonly used of Irishmen. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iv. p. 13. Carrok and Thomas Glygry bought salt, wine and other things at Dublin for felons and sold to them. Cal. Just. Rolls, July 21, 1297. In 1310 it was ordered that no one should supply victuals or aid to any openly against the king's peace. Berry, Stat. 271. Richard II. in 1394 ordered that "no liege subject of ours, of whatever estate or condition he be, give, sell, send, bring or lend to any Irishman, not abiding among our English lieges, any corn, malt, bread, wine, ale, salt, iron, horses, armour, or other necessaries whatsoever." Ib. 499.

In 1366 the statute of Kilkenny ordered "for the better maintaining of the peace and doing right, as well to the Irish enemies being at peace as to the English, it is ordained and established, that if any Irish, being at peace, by bargain or purchase of merchandise, or in any other manner, become debtor to English or Irish, being at peace, that for such cause no other Irish person with him, under him, or in subjection to him, or his goods, be seized or attached for such debt, if he be not pledge for the same debt; but that his recovery be against the principal debtor, as the law requires, and be he well advised to give his merchandises to such person as he can have recovery from." Ib. 443. In these last words we may see a possible reason for forbidding trade with Irishmen owing to the difficulty

of the English seller to recover except by Irish law, which it was now forbidden to every settler to recognise in any way.

P. 170, n. 3. In 1310 men "of great lineage," a term used at that time of Irish chieftains, Berry, Stat. 313, were buying all kinds of goods "as well in towns as in the woods." Ib. 265. In 1403 New Ross petitioned for license to sell to the Irish as "they have no other means of living but in the buying from and selling to the aforesaid commons victuals and other small necessary articles, to prevent their malice and ill-will." They were also permitted to pay 10 marks yearly to Art MacMurrough, captain of his nation. Hore's Old and New Ross, 217. (He had a castle at Old Ross. Ib. 223. Art and the Chief Brehon of Leinster were said to have been poisoned there, 1416. Ib. 223.) In 1525 complaints were made against New Ross "that the inhabitants of the aforesaid town did retail with Irishmen, and sell them their tillery, as well in war as in peace, and did keep out Englishmen to be murdered of the enemy": and that they closed the gates of the town against gentlemen of the country pursued by the Irish. Ib. 233.

P. 171, n. 1. Dominick Lynch of Galway had relations with 72 religious houses. Misc. Irish Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 52.

P. 173, n. 3. In 1297 a statute proclaimed: "Englishmen also as degenerate in modern times, attire themselves in Irish garments and having their heads half shaven, grow and extend the hairs from the back of the head and call them *Culan*, conforming themselves to the Irish as well in garb as in countenance." It was ordered that "all Englishmen in this land wear, at least in that part of the head which presents itself most to view, the mode and tonsure of Englishmen, no longer presume to turn their hair in the *Culan*, which if they shall do" the officers of the law should "compel those Englishmen by their lands and chattels, and also, if it shall be necessary, by arrest of their body and imprisonment, to relinquish the Irish dress, at least in the head or hair, and that there be no further answer made to an Englishman having his head transformed in the fashion of an Irishman than would be made to an Irishman if he should complain in the like case." Berry, Stat. 211. Marriages with Irish women were frequent from the first coming of the Normans. In 1351 a statute declared that heretofore by reason of strifes made between English and English, they have used to be governed by the law of the March and the Brehon law, and not by the law of the land. Ib. 389.

P. 176, n. 3. A roll of 70 names still exists of the merchants of

the new Anglo-Norman Dublin. The names are partly Latinised and partly a mixed Anglo-Norman or Early English. Physicians, apothecaries, spicers and goldsmiths are registered, and men of almost every craft or trade from various parts of England, Ireland (*i.e.* Derry, Trim, Cork and Naas), Scotland, Wales, France, Brabant and Flanders. *c.* 1172. Fac. Nat. MSS. Plate lxiv.

P. 178, n. 5. Donnybrook fair seems to have been older than the time of John, and to have been held on S. Patrick's day. John, 1200 and 1214, gave a grant to the Dublin citizens for a fair at Donnybrook at the Finding of the Holy Cross, May 3rd. Gilbert, Hist. and Mun. Doc. 62. In 1225 the archbishop (who had a right to two days of the fair) was granted till the majority of Henry III. the *fair he was wont to have on* S. Patrick's day, Sweetman Cal. Doc. i. 1351, the day being thus changed back again from the Finding of the Cross. Ib. 1354. In 1252 Henry altered the date once again, now making it the Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr, July 7, ib. ii. 40—a festival which he had in 1240 ordered to be celebrated with great pomp in Dublin. Ib. i. 2497. Edward again altered it in 1280 to the Translation of S. Benedict the Abbot, July 11. Ib. ii. 1684. These constant changes seem to indicate a restlessness among the people after the old date of their fair was changed. Possibly the opening of the city to all comers on S. Patrick's day was a relic of the old fair which the government dared not suppress.

P. 180, n. 3. The church of Galway was dedicated to S. Nicholas, bishop of Myra in Licia, and on his feast, Dec. 6th, the Galway men invited to their table those who were to keep Christmas with them. After the law of 1518 that the Irish septs were not to be invited at Christmas time, it was the custom for any of the Burkes, MacWilliams, or Kellys who found himself uninvited to dinner to appear abroad in his boots and spurs, on which the invitation was given him. Was this a convenient fiction by which the loyal Galway men could urge that they were compelled by superior force? O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 35. And was it against this custom that in 1593 weapons were forbidden to country people coming into the town? H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 454.

P. 183, n. 4. There were very early attempts to oppress the English born in Ireland. In 1280 Stephen Brandon had to get a testimony from the king that though born in Ireland he was purely English and should enjoy English customs. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, ii. 1658. In 1282 John Fitz Nigel was claimed by Thomas de Clare as his Irish villein; by the king's order an

inquisition was held which proved him English by origin and a free man, his grandfather having been born at Lichfield. Ib. ii. No. 1,946. In 1284 Thomas Wade, burgess of Carlow, had also to get an inquisition from the king that he was not of the race of the Irish but a pure Englishman. Ib. ii. 2,183. The notable and manifest division between those who were English by birth or by blood seems to have begun in 1341 with the revocation by Edward III. of all grants that he and his father had made in Ireland. Lib. Mun. Hib. I. iv. p. 30. In 1357 the Justiciar was ordered to enquire into discussions between the English born in England and those born in Ireland. Berry, Stat. 417. In 1366 it was again ordered that "no difference of allegiance henceforth be made between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England by calling them English hobbe, or Irish dog, but that all be called by one name, the English lieges of our lord the king." Ib. 437. Whether there were enough new incomers of English birth in 1532 to make such a rule necessary in Galway (or in 1384 in Waterford) I cannot say, but it seems unlikely. It is at least possible that in the common use of ordinary people the phrase ultimately came to fit the facts, and was used to forbid quarrels and defamations between men of pure English descent and of Irish blood. If the rule took this wider meaning in Galway, and perhaps in Waterford, it shows more fusion of the races than the authors of the Statute of Kilkenny contemplated or desired.

P. 185, n. 1. The MacDavids, a branch of the Burkes, were descended from Nuala, daughter of O'Finaghty. 4 M. a. 1225, p. 237 n.

P. 186, n. 4. Blake Rec. i. 16-49, 56-59, 64, 67, 84, 92, 124, etc. In 1449 Manus McDonagh, "an original Irishman," had a grant of the customs of Galway and Sligo from Henry VI., and paid forty marks yearly for the grant. Ib. i. 33; Iar Connacht, 205. Considerable trade dealings with the Irish appear in the wills of John Oge Blake, 1420, of his grandson John Blake, 1468, and of the latter's son Valentine Blake, 1499. Blake Rec. i. 18, 39, 47; Iar Connacht, 198-209.

In the Blake Records, i. 13-64, we meet with Irish officials, burgesses, and clergy: such as Nicholas O'Lachnan bailiff of Athenry (1384), O'Kyerryke burgess of Athenry (1439), O'Tyernay bailiff of Galway, and O'Buoyd and O'Flannagayn tribunes (1443), Curragh bailiff of Dublin (1444), Tyernay bailiff of Galway and MacCurke tribune (1444), Manus McDonagh keeper of the customs (1449), O'Lachnayn, O'Kermayg, O'Mul-

braynan, burgesses of Athenry (1451), O'Muloghane, arbitrator at Athenry (1452), O'Kyrmec, umpire at Athenry (1457), O'Tyernay, vicar of Galway (1468), O'Nellayn, clerk and notary of Kilmacduagh (1482), Kaffy, clerk and notary of Enaghdune (1488), Magrath, bishop, Dermot Cluayn public notary at Athenry (1507), and Nicholas O'Cunnil and Dermot O'Laene tribunes (1527), Morony notary of Galway (1528), etc. (Athenry was very Irish at this time. Cf. ib. 33.)

The few deeds preserved in these Records give a great number of Irish names, McGrasa, O'Gillayn, MagMalayn, O'Kyrvayn, O'Haygayn, McKynnamuyn, McSeayn Glays, O'Lorchayn, O'Conyll, O'Kyervyke, O'Tyernay, O'Laghnan, Denys Ruane, O'Braeyn, Denis McGyllonach, Fergus McCarroll, Thadeus Mackenaeld, Thadeus O'Daegeayn, Denis McGillonanath, O'Maellagayn, Cateline ny Curke, McHyre, O'Hylane, O'Myny, Katerine y'Keally, McElyre, McMoriertha, O'Guny, McDonogh, O'Donna, Olanthe Dermitio, Magrath, bishop, O'Cathayl, O'Lunisse, O'Ruarc, Tayg, O'Keryn, McFolan, O'Mongan, O'Longan, Gallarywagh, O'Fyn, McShanyn, O'Gorman, Dermot O'Clowayn, McGyllanahyn, Redmond Reawagh, McFarranta of the Wood, McDowyll, Rory Duff, O'Dunnayn, O'Culeayn, O'Growne, O'Kermac, O'Donnachayd, O'Nolyn, McGnell, etc.

In an inquisition as to S. Nicholas Church in 1609 the names of 24 jurymen are given. Twelve are of the families of Lynch, Brown, Curwen, Blake, Bodkin, Martin, and Athy. The other twelve are Martin Bige, merchant; Teig Ballaghe, shoemaker; Gillepatricke mc Coghlane, weaver; Dermott mc ffollane, brogmakere; Willm O Many, cottner; Walter Shoy, tailor; Nicholas Nolane, goldsmith; Muriertagh Mc Inylley, glover; Donnell O'Mollhane, cooper; Connor Duffe, fisherman; Davy O'Ffodaghe, boatman; Loughlin, fresh-water fisherman; O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 237, 240. In the list of dues from traders to the church given on p. 238-40 other Irish names appear as masters of trades, etc.

P. 188, n. 5. See Blake Records, 37, n. 56, for debts claimed by John Blake from the hamlets of Na Lachreach and Nicobru in 1462. See his bequest of lands to the community of the hamlet of Lachreagh. Ib. p. 40. And land mortgaged to Patrick O'Cathayl. Ib. 49.

The will of Wadinus Blake (ib. 46), gives instances of buying linen cloth and hides from Irishmen. See also will of Geoffrey French. Ib. 65.

An instance of a Galway merchant's trade with the Irish appears in ib. i. p. 38. Mr. Martin Blake has kindly sent me a transcript of the original, and some notes.

"Eandem quam corpori nostro, Johanni Blac et Juliane Frenshe salutem in eo qui est salus omnium et scire dignemini, Quod nos hac vice sumus occupati, quominus vos visitare potui; Ideoque vos rogamus quatenus venientes cum vino vestro ad villam nostram de Roscoman, quia ibi omnia vestra mercimonia comode vendere potestis; et si velis quod ego ibo, in ocursum vestrum scripbatis mihi, cum latore presencium certum diem; et ego cum festinacione transibo, et vestra lintiamina in quibus vobis teneor habeo in servatu, exspectando ad . . . vestrum et mensuram; et si non venietis ad villam nostram scripatis nobis certum diem infra quam vobis ponemus, et ita faciemus. Non plus hac vice sed custodiat vos altissimus. Scripta sub testimonio nostri sigilli quo ad majora utimur."

The letter is written in fifteenth century hand, with usual contractions, on a strip of vellum. This strip has been cut off after the last word "utimur"; and thus the portion of the strip bearing the seal, and possibly also the date and name, of the writer is gone. The document bears no endorsement; which is rather curious, as other documents in this collection of about the same period, bear endorsements written in English in a handwriting of the middle of the seventeenth century. The letter must have been written before A.D. 1468, probably between A.D. 1451 and 1467. The last words indicate a person of importance. He speaks of "our town of Roscommon": Roscommon was altogether Irish, held by the O'Conors.

P. 193, n. 1. The claim of English merchants for free trade in Ireland practically dated from "the Conquest." See petition heard of the burgesses of Donenic in England, that they be quit of customs of their merchandise in this land, according to their charters, transcript of which under their common seal they bring. Cal. Justic. Rolls, June 21, 1299. See Gilbert's Hist. and Mun. Doc. pp. 82, 136, for the roll of the Dublin Guild Merchant in 1226 and 1256. There are 224 names in the first list, 205 in the second. A number of English towns are represented.

P. 195, n. 4. In 1358 the Dublin merchants represented to the king that owing to the dangers of the harbour of the city of Dublin, no large ship laden with cargo will venture thither, and that consequently merchants have usually sold their goods on shipboard within a distance of six leagues of the city. The king

allowed shipmasters and mariners to anchor in the sea within the port, and make sales from there. Cal. Dub. Rec. i. 19. Had this any connexion with allowing wool to be exported from Waterford in 1353, *v.* Hans. Ur. B. iii. 571?

I give some of the licenses to trade.

Act of Council of certain merchants of the city of Dublin that Hamone Brysarte, Bartarm Jonges, and Charles Eustace of Saint Mallowes, in Brytayne, and Francis Barnarde of Conquete, merchants of the French King, and their factors, may enter the port of Dublin with their ships and goods for the necessary furniture of the realm. Cal. Patent Rolls, Irel. Oct. 26, 1549. License to Walter Pippard of the city of Dublin and James Dover, of the city of Waterford, to import 1,000 hogsheads of wine, 400 weys of salt, and four hundred tons of iron into the ports of Wexford, Waterford, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk and Carlingford, Ib. i. 374, 1556-7. License to John Challoner, Thady Duffe, John Nagle, and John Usher, citizens and merchants of Dublin, to import by themselves or their factors in their ships or galleys a thousand hogsheads of wine, 400 weys of salt and 400 tons of iron before the Feast of the Purification, 1559, into the ports of Wexford, Dublin, Drogheda and Dundalk; that the merchants, whether French or others, should remain in safe conduct and special protection with their wares in passing and repassing, and might take and export out of Ireland wares and commodities to the value of the merchandise and victuals imported. Ib. i. 374, 1556-7. License to Thady Duff, Richard Fyan, Patrick Sarsfield, Christopher Sedgrave, William Handcock, and Patrick Gough, merchants of Dublin, to import 1,000 hogsheads of wine, four hundred weighs of salt, 1,000 "doles" of iron, and merchandise, for three years, in the ports of Wexford, Dublin, Drogheda and Dundalk, and not elsewhere. Ib. i. 414, 1558-9. License to Gabriel Galvani, merchant of Arguza . . . to import 100 tons of wine, 200 tons of salt, 200 tons of iron, spicery, grocery, linen drapery, within one year to the ports of Dublin, Waterford, Drogheda and Dundalk, and to take return cargoes not exceeding the value of the goods brought. Ib. i. 415, 1558-9. (See also Fiants of Elizabeth, 27 Feb. 1559: several licenses to merchants as above "on account of the war with France.") License for William Forster of Dublin, merchant, to trade with Scotland, paying the usual customs. Ib. i. 446, 1560. License to John Gardiner or bearer to take up and provide in any town, haven, or creek in Ireland, 100 tuns of Gascony wine or sack, and convenient ships, boats,

and lighters, mariners and pilots, for the safe and speedy conveyance thereof, as well by sea as by land, to the city of Dublin; at such reasonable price as hath been accustomed. Ib. i. 474, 1562. License to Arsbalde Laughlin otherwise Lill, of Arselott, and Edward Larken of Skerries to pass and trade freely with their goods into Scotland and to purchase there 100 tuns of wine, 200 weys of salt, a hundred tons of iron and the value of £100 sterling fish, victuals, and other necessaries to be imported in Scottish vessels and by Scottish mariners to the havens of Carlingford, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford or Ross; and to export wares and commodities to the value of the merchandise and victuals brought from Scotland. No date. Ib. i. 374. License to Robert Birssaile to trade with Scotland with his servants and to purchase 100 tuns of wine, 100 weys of salt, 100 tons of iron, and the value of one hundred pounds of fish, victuals and other necessaries to be imported into the havens of Waterford, Carlingford, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, or Ross, and to export wares and commodities to the value of the merchandise brought from Scotland. Ib. i. 375. No date.

P. 204, n. 1. In the conflict of 1388 the burgesses were led by Henry Blake, burgess. The matter was to them evidently a legal question; they reserved the cokket alone for the king. All other profits were held to belong to de Burgo. (Henry Blake was pardoned by Richard II. 1395.) Blake Rec. i. 136-7. In this same year 1388, Nicholas Kent agreed with some merchants of Bristol to fit out a predatory expedition against the town. But the king's leave was necessary, and "a license to make war against the Irish enemies" dated 1400 was obtained on promise made not to make war against the faithful Irish, but against rebels and enemies, that is Anglo-Irish and Irish.

P. 206, n. 1. In 1525 the King granted to Robert Cowley, of Dublin, merchant, the lastage of hides, commonly called the fees of the town of Galway; being two shillings sterling money for every last (twelve dozen) of hides, in every ship within the port of Galway, and the bays and creeks thereof, for a term of 30 years, theretofore held by Stephen Lynch Fitz-Dominick. Hard. Galway, 77. Fiants of H. VIII. 22 Feb. 1525-6. For Crown grants of fisheries in Galway, see Blake Rec. i. 13, 14. The ordinances of Galway in the sixteenth century should be studied in relation to the king's action there.

P. 215, n. 2. For the ruin of Limerick at this time, cf. p. 229. For indications of its trade before Elizabeth's time, see charter

of Limerick: confirming the charter of King John. Cal. Patent Rolls, Irel. i. 271, 1552. John de Whyte citizen of Limerick *v.* Peter Hereward of the same. Peter should have brought a ship of John's to Dertemuth in England, to carry thence salt. Peter by his temerity brought the ship to the Galuy in Ireland, and remained there for 7 weeks at the costs of John. Cal. Justic. Rolls, Feb. 3, 1297. In 1556-7 license to Stephen White and Nicholas White of Limerick to import 600 hogsheads of wine, 400 weys of salt, 40 hogsheads of honey and 20 hogsheads of dry wares. In 1557-8 license to William Stritch FitzNicholas and James Stritch FitzNicholas of Limerick, merchants, to trade with the French, British, Scotch, or other foreigners for salt, wine and iron. In 1559 order of the Lord Deputy and Council directing seizure of two French ships, which arrived at Limerick, laden with wines and military stores, in contravention of a license which they had obtained to trade when peaceful relations were interrupted between England and France, 1556-8. Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. 374, 389, 427.

P. 218, n. 3. Waterford, like Galway, bought hides and cloth throughout the neighbouring counties—Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow. H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 318.

Like the Galway merchants also the Waterford men went to live outside the walls of the city, and even in the fifteenth century were used to make their "continual residence" in the country. A law was passed in 1480 that their continual residence and principal resort should be within the city, *at the discretion of the Mayor and council.* Ib. 315.

P. 220, n. 1. The rule that a man of Irish race must have his "liberty of the king" before he was made freeman of a city does not imply distrust or hostility of the towns to the Irish. By English law Irishmen, unless enfranchised by special charters, were not admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England; and they were therefore disabled from bringing actions in court, and so far out of the protection of the law that it was often adjudged no felony to kill a "mere Irishman" in time of peace. "The killing of Englishmen and of Irishmen requires different modes of punishment," says a statute of 1297. Ib. 211. *v.* Davies' Discovery, 77-101; Waterford Ordinances, H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 308. By the rules of Waterford, as distinguished from the laws of the English Government, the slaying of a man, English or Irish, was punished under the same law. Ib. 306-7; and all pleas were tried in the same court. It was thus essential in Waterford and in other towns that every Irish

citizen should be openly admitted to the use and protection of the common law, to preserve the order of the city and to prevent legal complications. The English government, if we believe Davies (Discovery, p. 86), intended to make a perpetual separation between English and Irish. The city rulers in Ireland, on the other hand, united them on terms of complete equality in the courts, a reasonable and friendly relation. In the Exchequer receipts quoted in Cal. Doc. Sweetman, vols. ii. iii. iv. there are names of Irishmen in the towns in the thirteenth century.

Waterford, like Galway, forbade selling materials for boats to "idle-men" of the country. The city had a large traffic throughout the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow, for frieze, timber, and victuals, much of it river-borne. A considerable timber trade in the fifteenth century was carried in boats, the number of men to each boat, and their wages being fixed, and all sworn to be true to the king and *the city*. (H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. 296, 299, 325.) No doubt the monopoly of boat traffic was jealously guarded against both Irish and English smugglers.

P. 238, n. 1. The parish in which Rosbrin Castle was situate was, and is, called Schull, from the Irish *scoil*, 'school.' A school had been established there by O'Mahony's ancestors, as we find the name "Scole" for the parish, in a Bull of Innocent III., in 1198.

P. 242, n. 2. The monument in Athlone church runs thus:

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED FOR THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR MATHEW RENZI KNIGHT WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE 20TH OF AUGUST : 1634 : BEINGE OF THE AGE OF : 57 : YEARS BORNE AT CULLEN IN GERMANY AND DESCENDANT OF
THAT FAMOUS AND RENOWNED WARRIOR GEORGE CASTRIOTT ALS SCANDERBEG (WHO IN THE CHRISTIAN WARRES FOUGHT
52 : BATTAILES WITH GREAT CONQUEST AND HONNOR AGAINST THE GREAT TURKE) HE WAS A GREAT TRAVELER
AND GENERALL LINGUIST AND KEPT CORRESPONDENCE WITH MOST NATIONS IN MANY WEIGHTY AFFAIRES : AND IN THREE
YEARS GAVE GREAT PFECTION TO THE NATION BY COMPOSEINGE A GRAMMER DICTIONARY AND CHRONICLE IN THE
IRISH TONGUE AND IN ACCOMPTS MOST EXPERT AND EXCEEDING ALL OTHERS TO HIS GREAT APPLAUSE.
THIS WORKE WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY HIS SONN MATHEW DE RENZI AUGUST THE 22 1635.

P. 242, n. 3. "Brother James of Ireland" was the companion of the Franciscan Odoric, the greatest traveller of his time, who

in 1316-1329 traversed eastern Asia, sailed from Ormuz to Madras, thence to Java and Cochin-China, spent three years in Pekin, and returned by Tibet and Persia. Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geog. iii. 251-287.

Simon Simeonis, an Irish Franciscan, went to the Levant in 1322, stayed in the Massiliot factory in Alexandria on his way to Jerusalem ; he tells about the trade of Massiliots and men of Montpellier, and of the Genoese, Catalans, Venetians, etc., in Egypt in the early fourteenth century, and gives one of the standard accounts of the Italian *fondachi* in the Levant. Ib. 484, 491.

A Spanish MS. of the sixteenth century in National Library, Naples, which appears to be copied from an older one, says of the Irish : "The people are simple and very handsome and many of them come to the feasts of S. James ; and their kings' arms are a golden shield with a black lion rampant." Soc. of Ant. 1896, p. 81.

P. 243, n. 3. See Plato, Hippias Minor, p. 3,688. Hippias illustrated how the "wise" man should be self-sufficing, not in the sense of a Cynic or Stoic philosopher, but as accomplished as possible in every direction. Thus the wise man should be the maker of his own cloak, tunic, boots, and signet ring, as well as the author of his own peace of mind, and doubtless, like Hippias, he should be famous for his memory and prove if necessary a successful ambassador. David Fitzgerald seems to have been a good parallel to his model.

P. 244, n. 4. "Panormitanus" refers to Nicholas de Tudeschis, of Palermo, 1370-1443, a Benedictine abbot and a famous writer on canon law.

P. 255, n. 5. For Morogh O'Ley's medical MSS. the "Book of O'Brassil," see O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 70-71.

Dr. Norman Moore gives an interesting sketch of Celtic medical studies and of the medical clans, in Medicine in the British Isles, 139-153.

P. 258, n. 2. O'Grady, Cat. 95, notes that the Canon Law is often quoted in the Latin language in Irish law tracts.

P. 265, n. 1. A decree in a suit about land (1504) is given in Blake Records, i. 53. Mr. Martin Blake writes : "The original is in Latin. The subtlety, acute reasoning, and legal knowledge displayed in the pleadings there recorded, indicate a very high standard of culture and training in the lawyers of Athenry and Galway at that period ; they seem to be quite as familiar with the code of Justinian and the doctrine of *patria potestas* as with

the principles of English law respecting 'seizin' and 'entry'." The document is written and attested by Dermot O'Cluayn, clerk of the diocese and public notary.

P. 266, n. 1. In 1287 Robert de St. Michael was studying law in the King's Bench, Westminster. Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. 331. In 1290 David O'Curry, clerk, canon of the church of Cork, had license to study for two years in England. Ib. iii. 719. In 1291 Hugh Hune, remaining by license in England to study. Ib. 921. There were a great number of licenses at this time to remain in England, but the reason is seldom given.

P. 268, n. 1. It was proposed in this same year (1410) to enact a law that no Irishman shall henceforth have charter of denizen unless he find sufficient surety in the Chancery beforehand that he shall never after adhere to any Irish enemy in any manner. Berry, Stat. 527.

P. 268, n. 3. O'Connell, in "Ireland and the Irish," i. 58, quotes an Act of the tenth year of Henry VI., entitled "An Act that every liege man shall take the Irish conversant as espialls amongst the English, and make of them as of the King's enemies"; whereby it was enacted, That it should be lawful for every liege man, to take all manner of Irish enemies, which in time of peace and truce should come and converse amongst the English lieges, to spie their secresies, force, wayes, and subtilties, and to make of them as of the King's enemies.

P. 271, n. 2. The king's subjects in Ireland presented a grevious complaint to Henry V. in 1421. "Also your said lieges show that whereas they are ruled and governed by your laws used in your realm of England, to learn which laws and be informed therein, your said lieges have sent to certain inns of court able men of good and gentle family, your English subjects born in your said land, who have been received there from the time of the conquest of your said land until now lately, when the governors and companies of the said inns would not receive the said persons in the said inns, as they used." Berry, Statutes 575.

Many of the king's lieges went "to reside in England as well at the schools and the universities there, as to learn your common law as apprentices of the Court, divers of these, by your licence given under your great seal of Ireland, and several without your licence, but who maintain sufficient men as their substitutes, yet, notwithstanding this, the said persons who are scholars and absentees outside your said land because of their education, are harassed and burdened by your officers of your Exchequer of

Ireland, who take from them two parts of the issues and profits of their lands, rents and tenements, offices and possessions within the said land, as fully as from those who were absentees from the said land without licence,—to the very great hurt of your said poor lieges." Ib. 581. There is a list of people from Ireland given licenses to remain in England in 1430. Lib. Mun. Hib. I. iv. p. 95.

P. 276, n. 1. In 1385 English rumour went that the Irish were confederate with Spain; but "at this next season, as is likely, there will be made a conquest of the greater part of the land of Ireland." Berry, Stat. 485. This was the year in which Richard II. bestowed the sovereignty of Ireland on Robert de Vere, who was made Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, and given by Parliament a vote of money for its conquest. On this occasion Richard and his favourite got no farther than Wales. In 1394 he undertook the second expedition.

P. 277, n. 1. In 1421 the English community complained that Ireland was devastated and destroyed by Irish enemies and English rebels, and will "within a short time be quite utterly ruined and destroyed for ever." They pray that Henry V. will complain to the Pope of the Irish "with a view to having a crusade on that account against the said Irish enemies for the relief and safety of the Irish land . . . and with God's help, to the perpetual overthrow of the said enemies." Berry, Stat. 563, 567.

P. 280, n. 1. In 1324 a penalty of fine at the king's will had been for the first time ordained by Parliament against the chieftains of great lineage who did not chastise the robbers and malefactors of their clan. Berry, Stat. 313.

P. 281, n. 1. Add. MSS. Br. Mus. 33, 745, a paper attributed to the pen of the Chancellor Bolton, impeached 1641, gives instances of the mediaeval difficulties as to the statutes passed in England, and whether they were valid in Ireland or not. These legal complications gave considerable advantage to sovereigns intending to press unlimited rights of conquest and of the royal prerogative in Ireland.

P. 302, n. 1. Some further names of Oxford students have been sent me:

Geoffrey of Waterford, O.P.

c. 1250. William of Drogheda, who lived at Drawda Hall, High Street.

1258. John Walsh, Regent of Oxford.

1296-1304. Duns Scotus, who lectured at Merton.

1365. Matthew O'Howen, Lecturer at Oxford.

1485-1501. William Joy or Joyce, educated at Oxford and Paris; archbishop of Tuam. Blake Records, i. 48-9.

Fifteenth cent. Walter Blake, educated at Oxford; appointed bishop of Clonmacnois by Innocent VIII. 1487; nominated by Henry VII. to Tuam; d. 1508. Ib. 58.

Fifteenth cent. Morough O'Fihely, native of Clonfert, educated at Oxford; afterwards archbishop of Tuam. Ib. 58.

P. 319, n. 7. This Hugh was the alpha, and his brother Coconaught the omega of the last rebellion, for Hugh was the first that went out, and himself the last that came in. Hugh was "a valiant rebel and the stoutest that ever was of his name." Davies, 255, 256.

P. 329, n. 1. The oldest known Anglo-Irish poems in English, transcribed in 1308, are a lament for Sir Piers de Bermingham, foe to the Irish, who "rode about with strength to hunt them out as hunter doth the hare"; and a satirical poem attributed to Friar Michael of Kildare on classes of men and various trades. Fac. Nat. MSS. III. pl. iv.

The "Secreta Secretorum," written in England for James fourth Earl Ormond, the White Earl, is the earliest known composition of any length in English; it tells how the Earl's grandfather "slew people in the red moor of Athy" while the sun stood still till the slaughter was done, "and no pity in that moor letting horse nor man in all the slaughter time"; and how he had slain at Ascoffy hundreds of MacMurrough's men. 1419. Fac. Nat. MSS. iii. Compare the comment on the Biblical story in "Fiac's hymn," given in a MS. of the twelve century, as an illustration of the pity or piety that marks the Irish saints. Since the sun stood with Joshua, he says, at the death of the sinful, though he was just, it was more meet that radiance should be at the death of saints. Ib. I. pl. xxxiv.

P. 332, n. 5. There was an epitaph over Ormond's heart at Kilkenny:

> "Cor patriae fixum vivens, iam dedditur illi
> Post mortem, patriae quae peracerba venit."

P. 334, n. 1. Richard III. begged James ninth Earl of Desmond to give up Irish dress, and wear the gowns, doublets, hosen, and bonnets he sent him: to marry after Richard's choosing: to maintain order so as to "appear and be named a very justicer"; and to take the king's livery, a collar of gold. Gilbert, Viceroys, 417.

P. 340, n. 3. Dr. Meyer's translation of the Sea Song of Ruman MacColmain, from a XV. cent. MS., is given in the All Ireland Review, Oct. 4th, 1902.

P. 342, n. 1. Flann [*i.e.* Florentius] O'Gorman, chief lecturer of Armagh, and of all Ireland, a learned sage, and versed in sacred and profane philosophy, after having spent twenty-one years of study in France and England, and twenty other years in directing and governing the schools of Ireland, died happily on the Wednesday before Easter, in the seventieth year of his age. 4 M. a. 1174.

In honour of S. Patrick, Rory O'Connor gave an addition of ten oxen to the annual salary of the professor at Armagh, and confirmed the same from his own successors for ever, on condition that such professor would be bound to receive to his literary lectures all students from Ireland and Albany. Cambr. Ev. ii. 75.

P. 343, n. 7. The Psalter made for the Friar of Christchurch Cathedral in the fourteenth century is one of the finest of its class that remains in Great Britain or Ireland, the shamrock and Irish interlaced work showing an Irish hand. Fac. Nat. MSS. IV. I. lxxxiv.

P. 348, n. 4. Mr. Whitley Stokes gave me the following corrected translation from the Annals of Loch Cé in 1540, which illustrates the reputation of Oxford among the Irish, as well as their pride in their native schools. The annalist writes of a literary congress at the seat of the MacDermots: "The poets and ollavs of Ireland came to the Oxford of the hospitality and wisdom of the province of Connacht, *i.e.* to the Rock of the smooth flowing Loch Cé." Annals, ii. 327. Here *Ucsanfport* is the Irish form of Oxnaford, now Oxford. The word *engnam* rendered as "wisdom" might also be translated by "generosity."

P. 352, n. 4. "They cultivate sacred poetry with great assiduity; they do not undertake to compose verses on sacred subjects, except after fasting and prayer. When important negociations have to be made, the bards are always chosen as the negociators." Moran's Archbishops, p. 91-3.

P. 364, n. 2. "I, Thady Rody, of Crossefield, in the province of Connacht, and county of Leitrim, Esquire, have as many Irish books of Philosophy, Physic, Poetry, Genealogies, Mathematics, Invasions, Law, Romances, etc., and as ancient as any in Ireland, and so has several others in all parts of the kingdom. My honoured friend, Mr. Roger Flaherty, lost a curious volume of

the Mathematics the last war, in Galway, which I lent him, the loss whereof he wonderfully condoles in a letter to me; that great man's sense of the loss of so rare a piece piercing his noble vitals, for being the instrument thereof, and blaming me in his letter for lending him the book (tho' nothing in the world was more welcome to him than the same, nor more ardently courted) . . . I have several volumes that none in the world now can peruse, though within 20 years there lived three or four that could read and understand them all, but left none behind absolutely perfect in all these books, by reason that they lost the estates they had to uphold their public teaching, and that the nobility of the Irish line, who would encourage and support their posterity, lost all their estates too, so that the antiquaries' posterity were forced to follow husbandry, etc., to get their bread, for want of patrons to support them. Honos alit artes." Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 123, etc.

P. 364, n. 3. For the Irish in schools, see Alithinologus (Eudoxius), Lynch. The argument which Lynch is combating is that the towns are becoming infected with heresy. "Deinde fraudulentus accusator adjicit civium zelum minui et mores hereticorum consortio magis depravari quam antiquorum Hibernorum qui ab illis quo possunt distantius habitant." *I.e.*—"Thereupon the false accuser goes on to say the spirit of the townsmen is being weakened and their character ruined rather by association with the heretics than with the Old Irish who dwell as far away from them (*i.e.* the townsmen) as they can." To which Lynch answers: "Quod si mores civium adeo depravati essent omnis Hiberniae nobilitas tam prisca quam recens liberos suos cum literis tum moribus imbuendos non amandaret." "But if the character of the townsmen were so depraved, then the whole nobility of Ireland, both of the ancient and the newer stock, would not send their children (sons) among them to be instructed both in letters and polite manners." P. 14. In the marginal explanation the author says: "Liberi nobilium urbes erudiendi plerumque mittuntur." In reply to an imaginary assertion that the Old Irish lived as far as possible from the towns, Lynch says in margin: "Hiberni novi et veteres habitant in iisdem locis."

P. 365, n. 7. There is a tomb in Westminster Abbey to Fullerton, a Dublin schoolmaster, d. 1630. Guide to the Abbey by M. C. Bradley, ed. 1908, p. 66.

P. 366, n. 2. "Here in our own day Peter White opened a school—a man whose services to the State at large stand high.

From this man's school, as from the horse of Troy, men of the highest learning came to light in the State. What names I might recall—the Whites, the Comerfords, the Walshes, the Wadings, the Dormers, the Shees, the Garveys, the Butlers, the Archers, the Strongs, the Lombards; men distinguished by talents and learning, who early in life committed themselves to his training. Under this man, as my teacher, I worked in the same school while still a little boy; a man to whom I am bound by such strong ties of duty, or rather of affection, that I know not how I could repay him, seeing that I am unable even to reckon up in numbers the countless services which he rendered to me." Stanyhurst, De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis, Antwerp, 1584, quoted in Mr. Justice Madden's Classical Learning in Ireland, p. 81-2—a study of Irish culture which was published when this volume was already in the press.

P. 370, n. 2. There was doubtless a school in the fifteenth century, for Wadinus Blake in 1499 left "to each of his three younger sons 40 shillings in silver, to have them taught the necessary teaching in school." Blake Rec. i. 48.

P. 370, n. 4. Among his other works, Dr. Lynch translated Keating into Latin (unpublished). In the Trin. Coll. Cat. of MSS. *No. 560* is described "Lynch (Joh.) Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniae (copy from MS. in the Bodleian Library), fol. chart. s. xix." This work is not mentioned in the Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

P. 376, n. 3. Misc. Ir. Arch. Soc. 1846, i. 193, 123. O'Grady, Cat. 152. See Berry's Stat. 389.

P. 377, n. 2. A medical MS. of the sixteenth century, now in the British Museum, has the following note: "There it is from me to thee oh! John and as I think indeed it is not too good, and no wonder that, for I am ever on the move, flying before certain English up and down Niall's wood and in that very wood I have written a part of it and prepared the skin. I am Cairbre." Moore, Med. in Brit. Isles, 151.

P. 386, n. 1. The determination to suppress the Irish language was an old policy of the English kings. It was given as a reason of the refusal, from the time of John, to allow Irishmen to hold benefices. There were complaints of the patriot bishop of Armagh, Nicholas MacMolissa, in 1285 for appropriating vacancies and appointing bishops. On this the king's advisers say: "And it would be expedient to the king that no Irishman should ever be an archbishop or bishop [?], because they always preach against the king, and always provide their churches with Irishmen . . . so that an election of bishops might be made of

Irishmen, to maintain their language; and not of others . . . *fundendam linguam.* In like manner the Dominicans and Franciscans make much [*faciunt multa*] of that language." Cal. Doc. Sweetman, iii. pp. 9-10.

P. 390, n. 1. "During the first part of the eighteenth century, the possession of an Irish book made the owner a suspected person, and was often the cause of his ruin. In some parts of the country the tradition of the danger incurred by having Irish manuscripts lived down to within my own memory, and I have seen Irish MSS. which had been buried until the writing had almost faded, and the margins rotted away, to avoid the danger which their discovery would entail at the visit of the local yeomanry." O'Curry, Manners and customs of the Ancient Irish, i. p. xix.

P. 409. n. 4. Richard Stanihurst illustrates the difficulties of the English born in Ireland. Severed from Irish life by the exclusive politics of the Pale, forced by lack of university or law schools in Ireland to go to Oxford, Furnivall's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn, his training was in the main English. But the teaching of White at Kilkenny, his own historical work, and what he witnessed at Rathangan, seems to have completely alienated him from English politicians in Ireland. He left the country for London, then for the Low Countries and Spain, became a Roman Catholic, made studies in Irish history, and in Spain seems to have taken some part in Irish politics. Denied by his English training a knowledge of Irish language, history, and aspirations; denied by his Irish birth and Irish sympathies, any adhesion to English views and methods, he remained without country or hope; an alien everywhere, deprived of influence on the affairs of either land.

P. 424, n. 4. "The youth of this kingdom, especially of us catholics, is debarred from education and learning, in that no schoolmaster of our religion is admitted to teach, nor any admitted to be bred beyond seas; and the one only university of Ireland, doth exclude all catholics, thereby to make us utterly ignorant of literature and civil breeding, which always followeth learning and arts, insomuch, that we may boldly affirm, we are the most miserable and most unhappy nation of the Christian world." 1641. Lodge, Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, ii. 91-2.

P. 426, n. 1. The policy of taking the heirs of estates into the Deputy's house, as pledges for their fathers, and to be given an English training, was laid down in a report to Thomas Cromwell in 1533. St. Pap. II. iii. 171.

P. 444, n. 1. An account of the students in Paris, of the distinguished career of their leading scholars abroad, and of the later history of their settlement, will be found in "The Irish College in Paris," by Rev. P. Boyle.

P. 445, n. 1. See a poem "Lamentation for Ireland," written by a Franciscan James Carthún, in exile, with contemporary translations in English and Latin. He tells of the ruin and desolation of Ireland, and falls back on the theory of sin and punishment. The MS. contains other poems inspired by the oppression and suffering of the Irish. Revue Celtique, xiv. p. 153. The poem is edited by Thurneysen.

P. 451, n. 4. "It was reserved for the Spanish monarch, Philip III., to take the lead in founding the Irish continental colleges. In 1609 he laid the first stone of the convent and schools of the Irish Franciscan fathers in Louvain, which, under the invocation of S. Anthony, were destined to be for many years a nursery of zealous labourers from our Church. Dr. Florence Conry, the exiled archbishop of Tuam, ever loved to reside in that religious house; and after death, his remains were deposited within the hallowed precincts of its sanctuary. To this convent flocked the most distinguished Irish scholars of the age: it became, in fact, the historic school of our island. A small catechism in the Irish language and character was printed there by the first guardian of the convent, father Bonaventure Hussey; and thus was happily commenced that long series of works with which Colgan and Ward, Fleming and Hicky, and so many other students of this institute enriched the literature of our country." Moran, Archbishops. Dublin, 1864, p. 277.

P. 454, n. 1. This list of names is taken from a rare printed 4to volume in the Joly Collection in the Nat. Library, Dublin, consisting of six tracts relating to the Archi-Episcopal College at Prague, and printed in 1697. The volume has no general title-page. The first tract is entitled: Quartum | quod incedit feliciter | seu | Numerus | quaternarius, | Celeberrimo | Collegio | Archi-Episcopali | Pragensi, | Felix, Faustus, et | Fortunatus, | Discursu Panegyrico deductus. That relating to the Irish students is here slightly abbreviated. It is the second tract. The four following tracts give the names of various orders who were alumni of the College: Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstatensians, etc. They form with the Irish one, a single publication, having running signatures and catch words, though each tract has its own title-page. The other tracts are lists of names

of various orders who were connected with the College: Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, etc.

The above title-page is inscribed Fris. Franᵈ: Flemmingi. Medensis, 1723. He is one of those mentioned in the list.

P. 467, n. 1. In 1653 an order was made that poor children of twelve might be taken up by the overseers and transported into some English plantations in America. In 1654 it was proposed that there should be a "yearly transportation of some fit number of Irish children into England; to be bred in the English customs, and from their superstition, by being distributed into such parishes in England and Wales as may be thought meet." O'Flaherty, Iar Connacht, p. 182.

P. 470, n. 2. A contemporary English mention of Irish customs in 1521 says: "the wild Irishmen had churches in such reverence till our men taught them the contrary that they neither would nor durst either rob ought thence or hurt any man that took the churchyard for sanctuary, no, though he had killed his father." Soc. of Ant. 1868, p. 190.

P. 472, n. 2. O'Sullivan Beare (Dub. Ed. 1850), p. 136, relates how the people used to pay the Protestant minister for not being prevented going to their own priests for marriage and for baptism of their children. "Dar mo bhaiste," *by my baptism*, was an old Irish oath that has come down to the present day. It is evident that the comments of Englishmen of Elizabeth's time cannot be quoted as authorities on Irish practices.

P. 480, n. 1. English policy in Ireland was very early marked by this jealousy. In 1236 a mandate was sent to officials in Ireland "to cautiously enquire into the position of Master Walter, the Emperor's clerk; what are his object and the cause of his going to Ireland; with whom he converses; whether he directs his enquiries to anything touching the King or his kingdom; by whose counsel he acts; and to secretly send to the king what he may learn." Cal. Doc. Sweetman, i. no. 2,340.

A fantastic Italian play, Arrenopia Tragedia Dim. Gio. Battista Giraldi Cinthio, has the scene laid in Ireland; it is represented as a country where all the soldiers are dashing young men who had never seen war, whereas all the Scotch soldiers are old and like grave senators armed.

P. 483, n. 3. Francesco Chiericati was high in favour of Leo X. and Charles V. From his position in relation to them he was made much of by the king and Wolsey when he was sent to Henry VIII. Every splendour of the English court was exhibited to him; the king danced, sang, played, changed from cloth of

gold to brocade and ermine, to white damask, to blue velvet; and gave him the most splendid banquets, with animals and churches made in jelly. The methods used were perfectly successful. "I would rather live under his mild and gentle sway than enjoy the greatest freedom under any other form of government," exclaimed the dazzled Francesco. He left London for Ireland with letters from the king, and was personally conducted in the interests of Henry. He evidently felt the change of scene from the churches in jelly of London banquets. Ireland had no such delights. In Down he wrote: "I could not walk about the streets without being pursued by people who came running out of their houses to kiss my clothes when they heard that I was the Pope's nuncio, so I was forced to stay at home. Such is the annoyance which arises from over much religion."

P. 486, n. 2. The word "savage" was in fact conventional, as we see in Cuellar, or in the Italian Relation, Camden Soc. 1847, p. 15. "The inhabitants of the country are called the wild or savage Scots, not however from the rudeness of their manners, which are extremely courteous. The nobility reside on their estates, where they have generally great forests for hunting game. They have excellent houses, built for the most part, in the Italian manner, of hewn stone or brick, with magnificent rooms, halls, doors, galleries, chimneys, and windows. These savages are great soldiers, and when they go to war, the privilege of guarding the king's royal person belongs to them."

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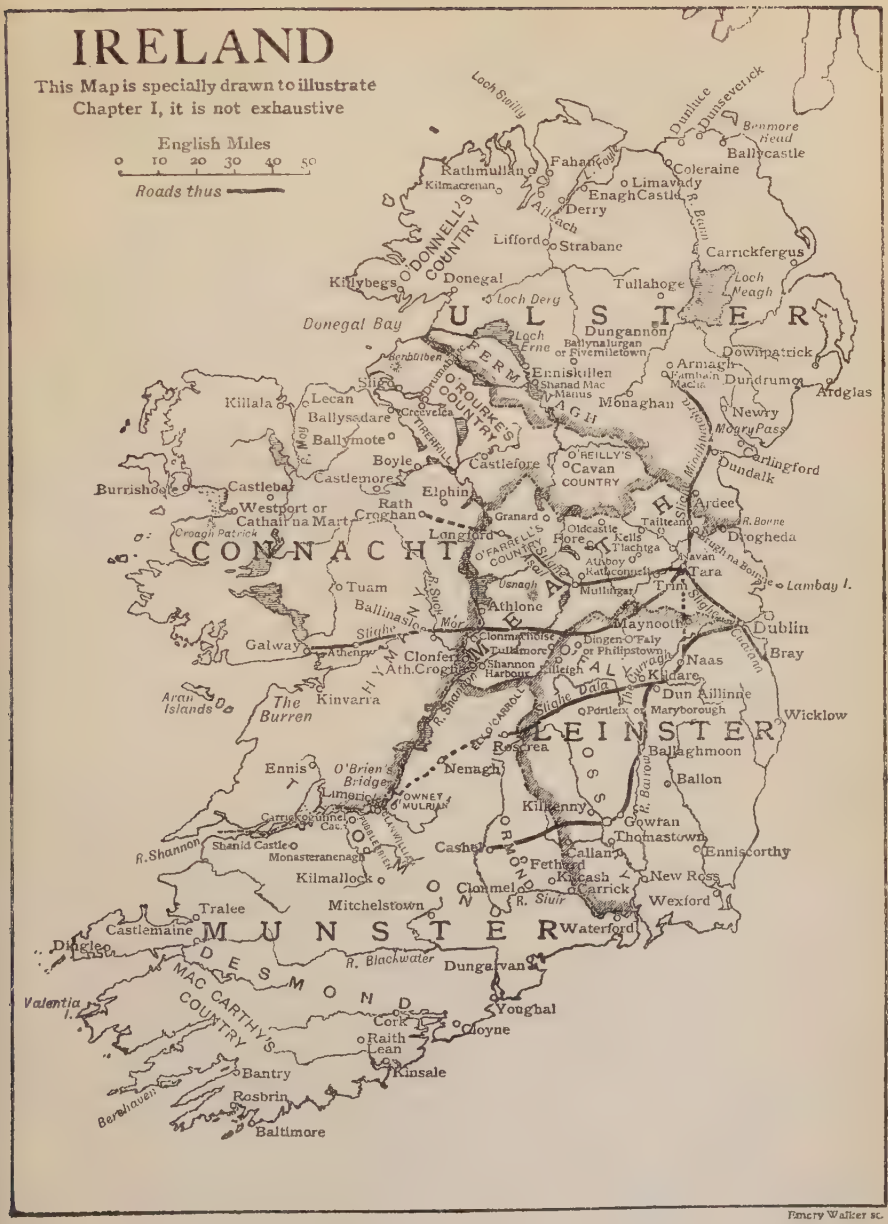
IRELAND
This Map is specially drawn to illustrate Chapter I, it is not exhaustive
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Roads thus
Loch Swilly
Dunluce
Dunseverick
Benmore Head
Ballycastle
Coleraine
Rathmullan
Kilmacrenan
Fahan
Limavady
Enagh Castle
Derry
Lifford
Strabane
Carrickfergus
Loch Neagh
Killybegs
Donegal
Loch Derry
Tullahoge
Donegal Bay
ULSTER
Loch Erne
Ballynalurgan or Fivemiletown
Dungannon
Downpatrick
Armagh
Dundrum
Ardglas
Newry
Moury Pass
Carlingford
Dundalk
Enniskillen
Shanad Mac Manus
Monaghan
Sligo
Killala
Lecan
Ballysadare
Creevelea
Ballymote
Boyle
Castleore
Castlemore
Castlebar
Burrishoole
Westport or Cathair na Mart
Croagh Patrick
Elphin
Rath Croghan
Granard
Longford
Ardee
Oldcastle
Kells
Tlachtga
Tailtean
Drogheda
R. Boyne
Athboy
Navan
Tara
Trim
Lambay I.
CONNACHT
Tuam
Ballinasloe
Athlone
Usnagh
Mullingar
Maynooth
Dublin
Galway
Athenry
Clonfert
Ath. Croghan
Clonmacnoise
Tullamore
Dingen-O'Faly or Philipstown
Naas
Bray
Shannon Harbour
Killeigh
Kildare
Kinvarra
The Burren
Aran Islands
Dun Aillinne
Portlex or Maryborough
Wicklow
LEINSTER
Ros Crea
Ballaghmoon
Ennis
Nenagh
Ballon
Limerick
Kilkenny
Gowran
Thomastown
Enniscorthy
Shanid Castle
Monasteranenagh
Cashel
Callan
Fethard
Kilmallock
Kilcash
Carrick
New Ross
Clonmel
Mitchelstown
Wexford
Tralee
Castlemaine
MUNSTER
Waterford
Dingle
R. Blackwater
Dungarvan
Valentia I.
Youghal
Cork
Cloyne
Raith
Bantry
Kinsale
Rosbrin
Baltimore
Berehaven
Emery Walker sc.